Plains Indian Art of the Early Reservation Era

The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum

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SAINT LOUIS ART MUSEUM

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Frontispiece: *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. See cat. 92

Note on Group Names

Terms for Native American groups largely correspond herein to names the groups prefer for themselves. Scholars and members of indigenous communities now recognize many common terms for indigenous groups to be inappropriate or inaccurate. Yet the process of updating group names is not straightforward—conversations about group names are ongoing, and multiple orthographic systems often exist for one language. In this publication, the first mention of a group includes its updated name, followed by the common term in parenthesis. Subsequent appearances of a group name may vary, depending on the preference of the individual author.

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Director's Foreword

Plains Indian Art of the Early Reservation Era: The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum details the generous donation by Carolyn Danforth of 251 works of Plains Indian art and celebrates the collection of her late husband, Donald Danforth Jr. This book examines not only Donald Danforth Jr. (1932–2001) and his sensibilities as a collector of Native American art, but also situates the artworks as evidence of remarkable creativity in the context of tumultuous historical change. Contributing authors include scholars, artists, and practitioners, many of whom are Native American members of the communities from which the artworks originated. Their insights illuminate the historical and indigenous significance of specific artworks and genres and present multiple perspectives that are as richly varied as the works themselves.

The Saint Louis Art Museum has collected Native art from North America since the first decades of the twentieth century, but it owes its new strength in Plains art to the gift of the Danforth Collection. It is a remarkable complement to the Museum's prior holdings, of which singular masterworks from the Northwest Coast and Arctic have been a hallmark. The Saint Louis Art Museum hosted the first museum exhibition of selections from the Danforth Collection, *Plains Indian Beadwork from the Donald Danforth Jr. Collection,* from November 17, 2006 to July 7, 2007. Subsequent installations of selected works were on view from 2009 until the present Danforth Gallery opened in 2012 as part of the Museum's expansion. Now with a permanent home at the Museum, the Danforth Collection inspires audiences of all ages, from scholars, enthusiasts, and collectors of Native American art to visitors and schoolchildren from across the region. Donald Danforth had a special appreciation for Plains arts for children, believing that these small but beautiful works would inspire personal connections and further interest in the history of American Indians.

This volume will be a perennial companion to the Danforth Collection. It is the result of many years of research and collaboration on the part of its editors, Jill Ahlberg Yohe, assistant curator of Native American art at the Minneapolis Institute of Art and formerly assistant curator and Andrew W. Mellon post-doctoral fellow at the Saint Louis Art Museum, and Janet Catherine Berlo, professor of art history and visual and cultural studies at the University of Rochester. We are grateful for their scholarly rigor and leadership in involving the many contributing authors whose essays enrich our understanding of the Danforth Collection. *Plains Indian Art of the Early Reservation Era: The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum* exemplifies the Saint Louis Art Museum's continued commitment to Native American art and to the collecting legacy of Donald Danforth Jr. We are honored to share his collection, and his passion, with the world.

Brent R. Benjamin
The Barbara B. Taylor Director

Acknowledgments

This catalogue is a tribute to the life and legacy of Donald Danforth Jr. and his family. Although I never met Don, his presence resonated at each step of this journey. He served as both inspiration and guide as we explored his collection and extensive archives; he seemed an invaluable partner as we navigated, with profound appreciation, through the realms of Native art, history, and daily life and practice.

Don's generous nature is evident in his family's love and remembrance. This publication of the Donald Danforth Jr. Collection would not have been possible without the ceaseless support and encouragement of his wife, Carolyn, who opened her home to us and welcomed our abundant questions. Moreover, she graced us with her memories, which brought a priceless immediacy to our experience of Don's life, his love of Native culture and art, and his desire to share this love with others.

Don and Carolyn's five children and their spouses have also been constant supporters of the project. Carol Danforth, Kathy and David Hollo, Laura and Charles Barnes, Don and Susannah Danforth, and Chris and Molly Danforth reflect the elder Danforths' generosity in their own depth of character and willingness to assist. Don's brothers, Bill and Jack Danforth, provided valuable insights and signature perceptions of cherished siblings. The youthful adventures of Don, his sister Dorothy (Dotty), and his two brothers in the West became entwined with Don's passion for understanding the people and art of the Plains. And Don's grandchildren readily offered memories of their adored "Pops" sharing his collection and his passion for Plains life with them and their classmates. Special thanks to Laura Hollo, Don's granddaughter, whose summer of dedicated work at the Saint Louis Art Museum provided us with additional historical and personal data critical for this publication.

This catalogue is also a tribute to the Native artists of the Great Plains, and to the Saint Louis Art Museum's commitment to communicating the deep, powerful histories of these artists and objects. Thanks to the thoughtful and attentive stewardship of Brent Benjamin, the Barbara B. Taylor Director of the Saint Louis Art Museum, we have a new kind of publication dedicated to Plains Indian art, one that values the scholarly and indigenous knowledge systems that inform this early Reservation Era material. Brent's warm hospitality to more than ten Native scholars who visited the Museum to work directly with the objects was essential to this new approach. Such integrity and dedication was also evident in Matthew Robb, former head of the department of the arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, and Andrew Walker, former assistant director for curatorial affairs and curator of American art. Andrew and Matthew provided constant support for the Danforth family and the Danforth Collection.

There are many people at the Saint Louis Art Museum who warrant special thanks for their commitment to the Danforth Collection and this publication. Zoe Perkins, textile conservator, handled each piece in the collection with respect, professionalism, and care. I would frequently visit Zoe's lab to find her painstakingly cleaning an individual bead or hide. This work resulted in an outstanding collection of photography by Jean Paul Torno, Cathryn Gowan, Shannon Sweeney, and John Bauer. Additional care and support for the images came from the work of Jessica Slawski, Rachel Swiston, and Rachel Aubuchon. Many others at the Museum provided essential support for this project, including

Linda Thomas, Judy Mann, Elizabeth Wyckoff, David Conradsen, Eric Lutz, Ann-Maree Walker, Lisa Cakmak, Janeen Turk, Marianne Cavanaugh, and the wonderful interns Kerrie Monahan and Rebecca Rea. Crucial support during the final stages of the project came from Nichole Bridges, associate curator in charge of arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas; Alexander Brier Marr, assistant curator for Native American art; Amy Clark, senior research assistant; and Jason T. Busch, deputy director for curatorial affairs and museum programs. Last, but certainly not least, the impeccable work of Jeanette Fausz, director of exhibitions and collections, was of the highest quality, as was the work of her colleagues Ella Rothgangel, Nelia Aubuchon, Pat Boulware, and Elisabeth Ellis. Head of publications and digital media Mariah Keller and head of design Jon Cournoyer, as well as Fontella Bradford and Lauri Kramer, brought this project to life.

Special gratitude goes to scholars Janet Catherine Berlo and Arthur Amiotte, and to Jason Best, editor of this publication. Janet's deliberative, thoughtful mentorship, informed by her many years of experience, helped transform an intricate process into its published form. Arthur generously shared his knowledge of Lakota culture, art, and history that made this work possible. Throughout the journey to publication, Jason's incisiveness, focus, and dedication were indispensable.

From the outset, the strength of this project has resided in the many Plains art scholars and artists who visited the collection to offer new insights into the study of Plains art of the Early Reservation Era. Sincere gratitude for their devotion and willingness to share their knowledge goes to Arthur Amiotte, Janet Catherine Berlo, Teri Greeves, Emil Her Many Horses, Joe D. Horse Capture, Michael Jordan, John P. Lukavic, Timothy P. McCleary, David W. Penney, Richard Pohrt Jr., Wendy Red Star, Dan Swan, and Gordon Yellowman. Enthusiastic thanks extends as well to Kathy Dickerson and John White Antelope and the many Native community members who remain steadfast supporters of this project and the Museum. My appreciation to Paul and Elissa Cahn, who generously hosted many of these scholars and artists, and who continue to provide constant support for Native American art at the Saint Louis Art Museum.

The sharing of knowledge in all possible ways has been key to the realization and completion of this publication. Special thanks to all who gave their time and effort to inform the project, including Adriana Greci-Green, Candace Greene, Carol Diaz-Granados and Jim Duncan, Molly Tovar, Tom and Lisa Uhlenbrock, Ed Garrett, Jim Welch, and Jim Thunderhawk.

Like Don, I believe that family is key to our place in the world. I thank my husband, Chris, daughter Lauren, and son, Nathaniel, for their presence in my life. Additionally, I thank my mother Suzanne and late father, Craig Ahlberg, my brother, Andrew, and sister, Amy Ahlberg, Uncle Steve, Marcia, Ellen, and Catherine Thomas, my wonderful family-in-laws, and my great friend Joan Levitt for their everlasting support.

I believe Don's most heartfelt thanks would be to the Native artists who created the work in this collection, as well as to their ancestors and to the great-great-great grandchildren who today enjoy this work.

Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Moccasins, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. See cat. 77

Essays

A View from Sunlight Basin: Donald Danforth Jr. and the Art of the Great Plains

Jill Ahlberg Yohe

To begin to understand the unique character of the Donald Danforth Jr. Collection of Native American art of the Great Plains, one but need envision a scene that would play out each autumn as a tall, dignified grandfather would arrive at his grandchildren's elementary school for a much anticipated visit. Bearing an assortment of items carefully chosen from his beloved collection, Danforth would gently offer them to the children, bringing his decades-long passion to life for his young audience (fig. 1-1). These handcrafted objects, which often bear telltale signs of their day-to-day use among the Native people who had made and owned them, brought wonder into the classroom, as Danforth's granddaughter Laura Hollo recalls. Her classmates would inch steadily closer to her grandfather "Pops" and all the fascinating objects he had brought with him, such as large beaded cradleboards, fully beaded moccasins, decorated Lakota dolls, knife cases, small bags, and a girl's hide dress from the Southern Plains adorned with elk teeth, tinklers, and bells. As Danforth passed each item around for the children to feel and touch, he would talk about its meaning and use in its Native community. Hollo vividly remembers one particular visit when she was five or six years old, during which her grandfather passed a beaded ball around the room (see cat. 108). "We were just passing it along, and then beads are falling off!" Hollo recalls. "The teacher gasped, but Pops just smiled and said it was okay. It was okay for him. He just wanted us to be connected to these things in person."[1]

Fig. 1-1. Donald Danforth Jr. presents items from his collection to schoolchildren. Photograph courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

That Danforth would place such objects in the hands of schoolchildren to inspire a sense of personal connection may seem surprising at first, but in fact, it is reflective of the ethos that guided him as a collector and, indeed, is the very foundation for understanding the collection he built as a whole. This is a very personal collection. It is comprised of objects themselves that are mostly personal, items both beautiful and useful that were made by individual Native women artists as they lived out their lives with their families during a period of monumental change. And it is personal because it represents one man's lifelong connection to the American West and his desire to learn as much as he could about the history and culture of the Native peoples of the Plains through the objects they made. Danforth's legacy of encouraging a living connection to the items he collected continues even now, serving as the guiding force for work on this catalogue. Its compilation of texts reveals a range of new insights into the personal, aesthetic, and historical connections between Native people and their art, bringing readers renewed ways of understanding and experiencing Native art today.

This sense of the personal is inextricably twinned with another important aspect of the collection that sets it apart from those built by other collectors of Danforth's era. Danforth's motivations were quite different from many of his contemporaries. He focused exclusively on Plains art of the early Reservation Era (c. 1875–c. 1925) and on acquiring objects that reflected the daily lives of Native people during that period, items often overlooked in larger collections. In this way, his efforts harked back to those of earlier collectors during the mid-nineteenth century, the explorers, merchants, military men, and ethnographers who visited the Plains and acquired Native objects in order to document and preserve what was believed to be a rapidly disappearing people and their way of life. As anthropology became fully established as an academic discipline during the last half of the nineteenth century, large expeditions would gather massive amounts of material from Native communities to be studied by trained social scientists and preserved in museums. Other large collections entered museums through generous donations by wealthy patrons who themselves were often avid collectors of Native material.[2]

The first half of the twentieth century saw a marked shift in the collecting of Native American art. Items that had once been collected and studied solely for the purpose of ethnographic and scientific inquiry began to be recognized as exceptional works of art, as was exemplified by The Museum of Modern Art's 1941 exhibition *Indian Art of the United States*, the first large-scale exhibition at an art museum dedicated to presenting Native objects as art.[3] Curators René d'Harnoncourt and Frederic H. Douglas asserted that all the world's cultures made great art—art that could be universally appreciated.[4] The MoMA exhibition paved the way for more art museums to include Native objects in their collections, but it was not until the mid-1970s, when two large exhibitions—*Sacred Circles* at the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City (1976) and *The Native American Heritage* at the Art Institute of Chicago (1977)—garnered wide acclaim, that Native art was established as a critical component for the collections of art museums.[5]

Thus, many major collectors who acquired Native art during the same time as Danforth were lifelong art collectors who built their collections of Native works using the same standards as they did for collecting other art, largely based on ideas of connoisseurship. For some, Native art was just one of many collections amassed during their lifetime.[6] Alan Hirschfield, known for his interest in Plains pictorial art, once stated that he had "always been a collector," very much like his friends Eugene Thaw and Charles Diker.[7] Thaw and his wife, Clare, first collected old master paintings and drawings as well as Asian masterworks; Charles and Valerie Diker spent many years collecting contemporary artwork before they became serious collectors of Native art.[8] The criteria used by such collectors to acquire Native art was to find and buy only the finest works. The Thaws and the Dikers primarily focused on acquiring prehistoric and early historical works of Native art, based on prevailing notions of connoisseurship in which the most valuable and authentic works of Native art were perceived to be those made for indigenous use (not for the commercial market) and bearing little evidence of Western aesthetic influence.[9]

Danforth was certainly drawn to beautiful and exceptionally crafted items, and, like the Dikers and the Hirschfields, had the material resources to acquire Native art of any kind. However, Danforth was not necessarily interested in building a collection of artistic masterpieces; he collected Native art because he was fascinated by the culture and history of Plains people and how that heritage was reflected in the objects they made, a distinction articulated by his daughter Kathy Hollo:

> Some collectors decide they want to collect something and then decide a thing to collect, and they find something that will be valuable down the road, approaching collecting this way. Dad approached it differently. It was the culture he loved, and he was so passionate about that. He studied everything about a piece he collected: who in the tribe would have made it, the reason for its existence, the materials used. He loved to learn. He collected because of his love of the culture, rather than wanting to become an art collector.[10]

The son of Donald Danforth Sr. and Dorothy Claggett Danforth, and the grandson of William H. Danforth, the founder of the Ralston Purina Company, Donald Danforth Jr. was born in St. Louis in 1932, although owing to some of his fondest childhood memories, he liked to say that he was "born and raised on a horse" (fig. 1-2).[11] Each summer, Donald and his brothers William (Bill) and John, and their sister, Dorothy (Dotty), traveled with their parents to northwestern Wyoming to a ranch in Sunlight Basin. It was there, surrounded by the Absaroka Mountains near Yellowstone National Park, that Danforth developed a devotion to the West; for the rest of his life he would return each year, spending summers on horseback and becoming ever more attached to the history and culture of the region.

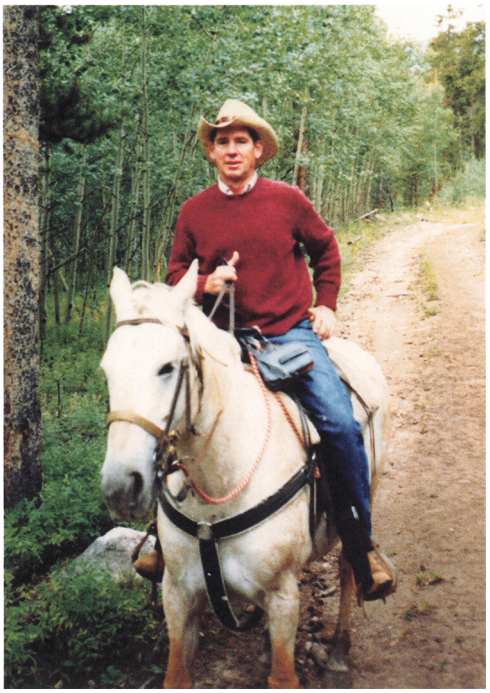


Fig. 1-2. Donald Danforth Jr., summer 1998. Photograph courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

Of his collecting, Danforth noted:

> My interest stems from my childhood. We used to horseback ride a lot. Two of my favorite spots were one up on the bluffs where you could still see the remnants of old Indian council circles, [where they would gather] in the summer for a tribal council. The other was in a wooded area along a small creek where you could see the evidence of a small, temporary Indian village with some of the teepee lodge poles still standing.[12]

Danforth spent much of his adult life helping to further the Danforth family legacy in both business and philanthropy while at the same time raising five children with his wife, Carolyn. He attended Princeton University before receiving his bachelor's degree from Washington University in St. Louis, then served in the Army for two years stationed in Germany. In 1957, he went to work at Ralston Purina, eventually becoming executive vice president at the company before leaving to found Danforth Agri-Resources in 1972. All the while, he served as a trustee of the Danforth Foundation and on the boards of numerous charitable organizations, such as the American Youth Foundation (AYF), established by his grandfather, where he was the board chairman for thirty years. Through its roster of summer camps and other sponsored programs for school-aged children, AYF encourages each participant to be "my own self, at my very best, all the time." Many AYF program activities and camps were inspired by Native American practices that enhance awareness of relationships both between individuals as well as between individuals and their community and the environment. It was through such work that Donald maintained the Danforth family's deeply rooted commitment to philanthropy, which for him manifested itself even more broadly as a profound respect for, and generosity toward, other people that permeated his daily life.

Danforth's intense engagement with collecting Native art began in 1989, when he purchased his first object, a "Great Plains" pipe bag from Skinner Auctions. It was the inaugural item in what would ultimately become one of the strongest collections of early Reservation Era pipe bags (cats. 19–40).[13] Throughout the 1990s, the most active and serious decade of Danforth's collecting, he gravitated toward Lakota (Sioux) and Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) pipe bags, Plateau parfleches, Southern Plains clothing, and children's items.

In just ten years, the Danforth Collection would grow to more than 280 objects representing nearly every major Native community across the Great Plains. That Danforth's interest extended beyond these objects' aesthetic value and to their deeper cultural and historical significance is evident in the care he took recording his acquisitions. A rarity among collectors, Danforth created his own intricate, multifaceted archival system, by which he catalogued each object in his collection with the sort of impressive detail prized by scholars. Annotated auction catalogs, newspaper clippings, provenance of objects in former collections, and references in articles and catalogues, when available, accompany each item Danforth collected. In addition, objects could be categorized and ordered in various ways, including according to type, function, community affiliation, and provenance and history, a system that has continued to provide researchers with numerous possibilities for linking objects to known Native artists, exploring the life history of an object across time and place, and other lines of inquiry.

Such meticulousness on Danforth's part might imply a commensurate overprotectiveness toward the Native objects in his care, but as the earlier episode at his granddaughter's elementary school suggests, Danforth was not the kind of collector to keep his items under lock and key. He surrounded himself with Plains art and delighted in sharing his collection with others, from family members to schoolchildren to total strangers. The Danforth home was full of the art of the Plains: parfleches graced the walls leading up the main staircase to the top (fig. 1-3), where a cabinet was filled with moccasins, while beautifully beaded bags of all shapes and sizes adorned many walls throughout the house. The Danforths welcomed

Fig. 1-3. Parfleches displayed in the Danforth home. Photograph courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

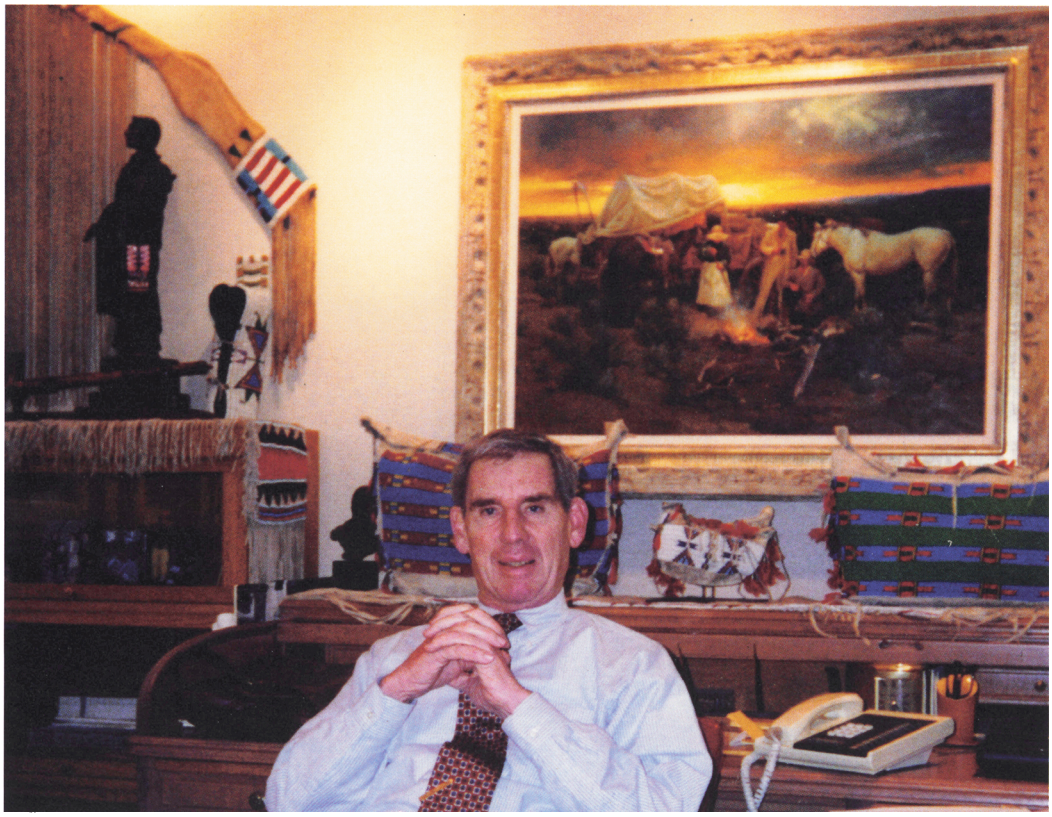


Fig. 1-4. Donald Danforth Jr. in his office with objects from his collection displayed. Photograph courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

others who were interested in Plains art into their home, even going so far as to open their doors to a busload of docents from the Saint Louis Art Museum. Many of Danforth's colleagues and friends remember how he filled his corporate offices as well with new acquisitions to share, including brilliantly beaded blanket strips, porcupine-quilled pipe bags, and various war-related materials (fig. 1-4).[14]

Unlike many collectors who rely on the expertise and inventory of a single dealer, Danforth worked with dealers across the United States, building his most enduring relationships with those who specialized in Plains art of the early Reservation Era. Dealers who worked closely with him invariably recall Danforth as unassuming and down-to-earth—a surprise to many, given he came from such a prominent and illustrious family. Yet he was also resolute in his interests and his tastes. "He wanted to listen, learn about the details of things," recalls Native-art dealer Ed Garrett, but likewise, "[h]e had no interest in other material than the Great Plains; I wouldn't even mention all of these other great pieces of Native art from the Northwest or Californian baskets. He just loved the Plains, period, those gutsy things; he had a really good eye for beautiful things. He was always awestruck by Plains material."[15]

Because the Danforth Collection consists exclusively of objects made during the early Reservation Era, it documents an important historical moment of major change on the Plains, a time of devastating loss for Native people—economically, politically, culturally. Barred from lands they and their ancestors had regarded as sacred and confined by treaties to small reservations, Native people were subject to forced attempts at cultural assimilation and at the same time denied U.S. citizenship.[16] Nonetheless, it was a period when Native artists produced an abundance of exceptional art. Danforth was keenly aware of the living conditions suffered by the Plains Indians, and this awareness informed and deepened his appreciation of their life and their art, as notes in his archives attest:

> Complete devastation beset them in the mid-1800s. One statistic that kind of tells it all, is that the buffalo herd, which meant so much to them both economically and spiritually, went from an estimated 60 to 80 million head in the early 1870s to 1,000 head in 1890s [. . .] [T]he Indians' lifeline had been destroyed. By the 1880s the buffalo had been depleted, at the same time the Indians had been pushed to smaller and smaller territories.[17]

Unable to subsist according to their traditional ways, Native people were forced to rely on the U.S. government for rations and put at the mercy of an inhumane federal system for managing their affairs. Native children were sent to boarding schools, sometimes forcibly and sometimes thousands of miles from their families. Policies were enacted to ban Native people from speaking their languages and from celebrating or worshiping according to their traditions. Yet despite their loss and grief, as well as the insistence of non-Native leaders, social scientists, and settlers that Native people would soon disappear entirely, Native artists continued to make extraordinary works of art at a prodigious rate.

The Danforth Collection bears witness to these vast artistic achievements of Native people during this time. Because of Danforth's persistent focus on collecting objects produced from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century, a major contribution to the study of Plains art was born. The collection offers a wealth of information about continuities and changes in the materials and techniques Native artists used during this period, and how these artists responded in their work to the new world in which their people found themselves.

Danforth was mostly drawn to smaller items of everyday use from across the Great Plains (cats. 1–5). This stands in marked contrast to many collections of Plains art in major art museums and elsewhere, which have been built with the idea that more large-scale objects such as war shirts, battle shields, and eagle-feather bonnets best represent the lifeway of the Plains Indians. Danforth took a different approach. A small, tightly beaded Hinono'ei (Arapaho) strike-a-light case, brilliantly colored beaded Inde (Apache) quirt, knife and whetstone cases, and children's toys all had great beauty and meaning for him. Likewise, these smaller items of everyday use inspired immediate connections for many of the contributors to this catalogue.

Clockwise from left:

Cat. 1. *Quirt*, Southern Plains Inde (Apache), c. 1890. Wood, cotton, glass seed beads, and leather, 20 × 1 in. (50.8 × 2.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 90:2010

Cat. 2. *Knife Case and Knife,* Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 2 1/2 x 8 1/2 in. (6.4 x 21.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 75:2013a,b

Cat. 3. *Strike-a-Light Case*, probably Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, tin cones, and silver button, 3 5/8 × 6 1/2 in. (9.2 × 16.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 49:2012

Top:
Cat. 4. *Whetstone Case*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1875. Front and back. Leather, glass seed beads, and sinew, 2 x 6 x 1/2 in. (5 × 15.2 x 1.2 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 126:2015a,b

Bottom:
Cat. 5. *Moccasins*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 2 3/4 × 6 3/4 × 2 3/4 in. (7 × 17.1 × 7 cm) (left), 3 × 6 3/4 × 2 3/4 in. (7.6 × 17.1 × 7 cm) (right). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 46:2013a,b

Fig. 1-5. Timothy P. McCleary examining a pipe bag from the Danforth Collection. Photograph courtesy Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Fig. 1-6. Wendy Red Star curating Crow items in the Danforth Collection. Photograph courtesy Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Following Danforth's own enthusiasm for putting others in direct contact with the objects that were the source of rich fascination for him, each contributor was invited to engage directly with the collection in its current home at the Saint Louis Art Museum, handling the materials and even visiting the Danforth residence where these items spent a significant portion of their later life. Such personal contact with the objects generated a wealth of new insights, particularly when several contributors visited the collection simultaneously and shared their perspectives with one another (figs. 1-5, 1-6). These dynamic encounters pushed contributors to think about the collection differently, and the results, as demonstrated in so many of the texts here, are contributions that reach beyond superficial readings and analyses. Scholars, artists, and Native members of each major Plains community represented in the collection—Lakota (Sioux), Apsáalooke (Crow), Gaigwa (Kiowa), Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), and Hinono'ei (Arapaho)—all participated, and the similarities and distinctions revealed in the interactions of their different points of view combine to yield a unique interpretation of Plains art. By exploring these objects in terms of technique, use, and their social significance within their respective communities, we broaden our understanding of the art of the Plains, uncovering culturally specific aesthetic principles and meanings.

This type of approach coincides with leading contemporary theories and methods in the study of Native art, making the Danforth catalogue an important contribution to the field more broadly. The disciplines of Native art history and anthropology are moving away from earlier analyses that favored a singular authorial voice, itself based largely on previous models used in Western approaches to art history and anthropology. Contemporary scholarship increasingly prioritizes multivocality while at the same time problematizing prior modes of scholarship, including European-based ideas of connoisseurship. Value continues to be placed on the study of objects in relation to the historical and cultural contexts in which they were made, used, circulated, collected, and displayed, but importantly, Native perspectives are seen as essential to this research and to achieving a more accurate and complete understanding of Native art.[18]

For many of the Native artists who participated in the project here, the objects in the Danforth Collection are great works of art as well as vital connections to their ancestors, items that embody Native history, memory, community, and power. For Wendy Red Star, being so close to historical beaded artwork made by her Crow ancestors provided deep insight into the sophisticated aesthetic principles of her people, and the technical and aesthetic excellence she encountered in women's leggings, a toy cradle, or a gun scabbard has inspired her in her own work. The experience became a context in which to recall and articulate memories of learning to bead with her female relatives and to recognize more fully how such moments guide her contemporary, often cutting-edge approach to presenting Crow art. For Teri Greeves, seeing sweat stains on a beautiful Kiowa girl's dress did not diminish the garment's value but instead revealed the tangible, tactile, and *human* experience such signs of use embody, bringing the past and its traditions ever more palpably present into today.

Important insights into the histories of Native peoples of the Plains are also revealed, including new classifications of Plains cultural and aesthetic principles. Dan Swan draws upon the history of relationships and movement of peoples of the Southern Plains to clarify some of the distinctions and commonalities across the region, offering a new way of categorizing aspects of Southern Plains materials, a facet of study often overlooked in Plains art. Janet Catherine Berlo and Arthur Amiotte demonstrate that the people of the Plains have never been isolated groups roaming the West, as has been commonly believed, but instead have long been cosmopolitan and sophisticated peoples who built networks for trade, forged alliances, and participated in strategic conflict. Their art reflects these activities as well as their desire to innovate and to engage with new ideas and materials while still maintaining close ties to their traditions, a fact vibrantly demonstrated by the Crow horse regalia in the Danforth Collection, as Timothy P. McCleary describes.

Throughout the catalogue, it is the context established through the articulation of culturally specific ideas and practices that makes the art come alive. Moccasins, a core strength of the Danforth Collection, can tell stories about ritual, cosmology, and identity. Arthur Amiotte reveals the key role of moccasins in Lakota ceremony and how moccasins embody central aspects of tribal identity, while John P. Lukavic details how Cheyenne moccasin designs can be cosmological messages, signifiers of relations and lineages, and can even symbolize the most respected quality of leadership in Cheyenne society: humility. Compelling insight into the crosscurrents of cultural influence among Plains people and how they sought to distinguish themselves from other groups can be found in John White Antelope's identification of certain Hinono'ei (Arapaho) symbols in part through an analysis of what are "not Arapaho" symbols, and likewise in Kathy Dickerson's approach in describing "not Kiowa" material.

A rich, multivalent understanding of the objects in the Danforth Collection is further enhanced by the remarkable archive Danforth assembled, a trove of supplemental material that allows us to research these artworks in terms of contemporary issues in Native scholarship. One example is the fascinating story of a pipe bag (cat. 6), most likely made by a Dakota woman living in the Upper Great Plains at the end of the nineteenth century. On one side of the bag, brilliant floral designs characteristic of Santee Dakota art appear,

Cat. 6. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota/Dakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, brass beads, porcupine quills, and tin cones, 37 1/2 × 7 1/2 in. (95.3 × 19.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 93:2010

their glimmering cut glass beads shining brightly. On the other side, colorful butterflies are beaded at the tips of a rectangular design. This motif is often referred to as *umane* and is associated with the sacred Four Directions for the Lakota people.[19] The bottom panel of the bag is finished with exquisitely detailed porcupine quillwork.

Within the file Danforth created for this pipe bag is a newspaper clipping and a letter from Ed Garrett, the dealer with whom Danforth worked closely for a number of years. Attached to the letter is a photograph (fig. 1-7), a promotional image from the 1960s of a

man in a headdress, the noted Native musician Oskenonton. Born in 1886 and a member of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) people, Oskenonton became an internationally known singer of Native American music. As two European women attend to him, Oskenonton holds the pipe bag that would ultimately become part of the Danforth Collection.

It is through this photograph that a complex history of a single object emerges. Neither the pipe bag nor Oskenonton were static beings. Each moved through many different worlds. Although this pipe bag was likely created by a Dakota artist in the late nineteenth century, it would become part of the regalia worn by a world-renowned Mohawk singer and accompany him to Europe more than a half century later. Oskenonton was fully part of the modern economic system as he continued to wear Native regalia and to interact with people from many different cultures around the globe. The pipe bag he carried would later reenter the market for Native art, be acquired by Donald Danforth Jr., and ultimately appear in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum (cat. 6). This pipe bag becomes a more complex, textured, and historically rich object through this journey. Such stories and insights, which occur throughout this catalogue, reveal many things: sociocultural contexts, artistic motivations, histories of the object, the cosmopolitanism of Native peoples, and connections between objects and Native life. They provide tangible links to histories of art-making in Native communities, the tumultuous early years of the Reservation Era, the use of such objects after that period, pathways that lead objects into collections and into museums, and the evolving relationships between Native cultures and the national and international world.

To focus on objects at a personal level in the study of Native art brings us closer to the lives of the people who made them while at the same time generating a human resonance that connects these objects with people across an even broader spectrum of time and place. It is that capacity for connection among culture, art, and people that motivated Danforth as a collector of Plains art and which, in its centrality to the vision for this catalogue, serves as an apt tribute to Danforth, the generosity of his family, and to the Native people of the Plains, past, present, and future.

Fig. 1-7. Detail of a photograph showing the performer Oskenonton wearing a pipe bag (bottom left) that is now in the Danforth Collection (cat. 6). Oskenonton was born as Louie Deer in 1866 at Kahnawake, a Mohawk reserve on the St. Lawrence River in Quebec. After a career in New York City as a weekly radio program host, Broadway performer, and recording artist for Columbia Records, he appeared on stage across North America and the United Kingdom in the 1920s and '30s. In these performances, Oskenonton sang "Indian Songs," a popular genre that employed Native American imagery and adapted elements from Native American music, and wore Plains regalia that was popularly viewed at the time as generic "Indian" garb. In this 1949 photograph of Oskenonton in London, the performer sits with Joy and Miriam Pearse, twins who worked as attendants for a display of home decor in the British Industries Fair. Clipping courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

Notes

1 Laura Hollo, interview with the author, June 25, 2013.

2 For discussions of early collecting, see George W. Stocking Jr., ed., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Curtis Hinsley Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981); Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); and Shephard Krech III and Barbara Hail, eds., *Collecting Native America 1870–1960* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

3 Frederic H. Douglas and René d'Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1941).

4 W. Jackson Rushing, "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern," in Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History,* 191–225; and Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 1–12.

5 Ralph T. Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art*, exh. cat. (Kansas City: Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, 1977); Evan M. Mauer, *The Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1977).

6 Molly H. Mullin, "The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art 'Art, not Ethnology,'" in George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, eds., *The Traffic in Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 166–95.

7 Alan Hirschfield and Terry Winchell, *Living with American Indian Art: The Hirschfield Collection* (Layton: Gibbs Smith, 2012).

8 David W. Penney, et al, *Indigenous Beauty: Masterworks of American Indian Art from the Diker Collection*, exh. cat. (New York: Skira Rizzoli in association with American Federation of Arts, 2015).

9 Ralph T. Coe, "Collecting American Indian Art: The Thaw Collection," in Gilbert T. Vincent, Sherry Brydon, and Ralph T. Coe, eds., *Art of the North American Indians: The Thaw Collection* (Cooperstown: Fenimore Art Museum, 2000), 13–23; and Bruce Bernstein and Gerald McMaster, eds., *First American Art: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection of American Indian Art* (Washington, DC and New York: Smithsonian Museum of the American Indian, 2004).

10 Kathy Hollo, interview with Laura Hollo, June 10 and June 23, 2013.

11 This and much of the biographical information on Donald Danforth Jr. that follows was compiled based on interviews with his family. Kathy Hollo, interview with the author, June 25, 2013; Carolyn Danforth, interview with the author, July 2014; William Danforth, interview with the author, June 2014; John Danforth, interview with the author, July 2014; and Donald Danforth III, interview with the author, June 25, 2013.

12 Donald Danforth Jr. papers. Courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

13 Ibid.

14 Author interviews with friends and colleagues of Donald Danforth Jr., 2011–13.

15 Ed Garrett, interview with the author, June 16, 2014.

16 Native peoples would not be granted U.S. citizenship until 1924.

17 Donald Danforth Jr. papers. Courtesy of the Donald Danforth Jr. family

18 For other examples of this approach, see Barbara A. Hail, ed., *Gifts of Pride and Love: Kiowa and Comanche Cradles* (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 2000); Karen Kramer Russell, ed., *Shapeshifting: Transformations in Native American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Eva Fognell, ed., *Art of the American Indians: The Thaw Collection* (Cooperstown: Fenimore Art Museum, 2010); Kathleen Ash-Milby, ed., *Hide: Skin as Material and Metaphor* (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2010); and Emil Her Many Horses and Colleen Cutschall, eds., *Identity by Design: Tradition, Change, and Celebration in Native Women's Dresses* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007).

19 Richard Pohrt Jr., appraisal, Donald Danforth Jr. papers; Emil Her Many Horses, telephone interview and email correspondence with the author, June 2014.

The North American Plains as Native Place

David W. Penney

The expansive North American grasslands known as the Great Plains has long been a fickle host to human settlement. Ranging for a thousand miles from the fringes of the Eastern Woodlands to the front range of the Rockies, and 1,500 miles south-to-north from the desiccated country of the Rio Grande to the coniferous forests of Canada, its vastness offered little impediment to human mobility, and yet the vicissitudes of cyclical climate change discouraged deep community roots at any one location. North of any viable agricultural potential, band-based communities of the Great Plains circulated according to the ranges of various wild game and seasonally available resources. To the south, farmers colonized the extensive network of Plains river valleys. When times were good, hundreds of earth-lodge communities crowded the Missouri, Platte, Nebraska, Iowa, Canadian, Red, and Washita rivers. Short-term dry spells, floods, and, presumably, the pressures of conflict encouraged periodic abandonment of some village locations in preference for advantages offered by others. Longer cycles of drought required entire relinquishment of some regions, as was the situation at the beginning of the so-called Little Ice Age (A.D. 1300–1450), when earth-lodge settlements on the western reaches of Plains river valleys shrank dramatically, deserting the upper reaches in the West. What was a loss for some became an opportunity for others as ancestral Inde (Apache) in the fourteenth century expanded into the west-central Plains with seasonal camps and settlements.[1]

The pace of change would accelerate into the modern era. Beginning more than five hundred years ago, some combination of climate change, nutritional crises, endemic conflict, and political collapse undermined the stability of the large towns of the Mississippi and lower Ohio river valleys. The region saw a steady decline of population thereafter, particularly after the early waves of pandemics introduced by European contact.[2] The eastern prairies and plains absorbed many of these dispersed peoples, who are known today as Wazhazhe (Osage), Oto, Omaha, Kaw (Kansa), Caddo, Ponca, and Kitikit'ish (Wichita). They joined the longtime resident agriculturalists known as Chaticks si Chaticks (Pawnee), Sahnish (Arikara), Namakiki (Mandan), and Hidatsa. All would intensify buffalo hunting in relation to their customary agriculture. Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), Gros Ventre, and Hinono'ei (Arapaho) also moved from the western Great Lakes out onto the Plains grasslands, first as farmers and then, with the help of horses originally introduced to North America by the Spanish colonies in the Southwest, increasingly to hunt buffalo. (Herds had flourished and expanded during the wet, cooler climate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.) By 1700, the tribes of Lakota speakers were pushing westward as well, across the Missouri and into the buffalo-rich central Plains bordered by the Platte and Yellowstone rivers. North of the

Missouri, the Nakota-speaking Assiniboine were followed west by Nehiyawak (Plains Cree), Anishinaabe (Chippewa / Ojibwa), and eventually mixed-race communities of Métis. From the northwest, Uto-Aztecan speakers—the Numinu (Comanche), Gaigwa (Kiowa), and Ute—had migrated south along the foothills of the Western Plains, aggressively pushing resident Apache southward, and established themselves in hunting territories between the Rio Grande and Arkansas rivers.[3] All these broad cultural movements were prompted by the new technology of hunting buffalo on horseback.

Anishinaabe historian Michael Witgen developed the expression "Native New World" to describe the vast changes in the indigenous interior resulting from the presence of Europeans on the margins of Native North America.[4] Nowhere is this Native New World more evident than in the vast demographic movements and social innovations of the Plains region after 1500. As had been long-standing custom, the Native New World of the Plains tended to manage the inevitable oscillation between conflict and cooperation through reciprocal exchange or trade. Dried corn, beans, squashes, and meat; prepared hides; tobacco; medicinal plants; mineral pigments; and crafted items such as decorated clothing, containers, utensils, stone pipe bowls, and countless other objects fueled and maintained long-standing trade relations between agricultural villagers and the more itinerant hunting bands. Impetus for trade accelerated with the introduction of horses, as well as guns from fur traders of the western Great Lakes, metal knives and axes, cloth, glass beads, and other manufactured goods conveyed from Europe and its colonies. Accompanying this flow of things—and, indeed, integral to it—were also ideas, skills, symbols, ceremonies, dances, songs, religious societies, and, not least, marriage partners, along with all other aspects of cultural knowledge.

Trade fed the Native Nations of the Plains with global wealth.[5] Early trade proceeded from partner to partner, Native Nation to Native Nation, via networks of intermediaries bound by the protocols of mutual obligation. Native Nations fought to maintain their place in new and volatile exchange networks. Horses revolutionized the trade, both as a commodity and as a conveyance for trade goods.[6] During the eighteenth century, traditional portage routes from the east brought imported materials to the equestrian tribes of the Plains interior for broader distribution by horseback in return for furs, pelts, and hides for export. Horse-borne trade was eventually supplemented by large-wheeled wagons pulled by oxen driven by Spanish-Mexicans from the Southwest or by Métis traders supplied via eastern waterways. The flow of heavy buffalo hides accelerated exponentially after 1819 when flat-bottomed steamboats began to provide a far more efficient means of transporting them down the Missouri River to St. Louis. With the establishment of the Pacific Fur Company at Fort Astoria on the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811, chains of trade partnerships managing the flow of imported goods extended from the Northwest across the mountains to the Plains, reinforcing long-standing ties between Plains Nations and their neighbors of the Northwest Plateau.

Two strong cultural values are common amid the great cultural and linguistic diversity of the Native New World of the Plains, both rooted in ancient and traditional constructions of

gender. The first is the masculine value involving aggressive pursuit of community interests in the areas of defense and territorial integrity. The second is the feminine value of productivity: the knowledge of raw materials and skills in processing them, and care and quality of workmanship. Both gender roles emphasized individual initiative and the nurturing of life skills as pathways to personal success and recognition, but always tempered by social obligations toward family and community. In the context of trade, these traditional gender roles worked hand in hand. Men hunted animals, protected hunting territories, and typically managed the protocols of exchange, while women processed and converted trade materials into items of value. They tanned and prepared hides for export and transformed by artistry imported trade goods—glass beads, wool and cotton cloth, brass hawk bells, Chinese coins, cowrie and dentalium shells, and a great variety of other things—into honored items of regalia and household. The value of such objects increased through their circulation as gifts, creating ties of love and reciprocity among extended family members and family alliances. Decorated clothing and artfully wrought possessions became strong material expressions of personal, family, and community identity and pride.

The Native New World of the Plains, flush with wealth and cultural vitality, at first avoided more direct entanglement with the expanding American nation because American explorers discounted entirely the potential of the Great Plains for civilization. "Barren soil, parched and dried up," wrote Zebulon Pike in 1810. U.S. Army explorer Stephen Long coined the expression "the Great American Desert" for his survey report thirteen years later, a sentiment echoed as late as 1856 by Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry, who referred to the Plains as a "barren waste."[7] American settlers largely bypassed this vast continental interior when emigration to the West accelerated after the Gold Rush of 1849; they hoped only to pass through the Plains as quickly and safely as possible. As a consequence, the Native New World of the Great Plains was the last large Indian place within the portion of the continent then claimed by the United States. The great Horse Creek Treaty, signed by commissioners of the United States and representatives of eight Northern Plains Nations at Fort Laramie in 1851, at a council attended by an estimated ten thousand Indians, promised peace and protection for travelers on the Oregon Trail while at the same time formally recognizing the territories of the signatory Native Nations.[8]

Yet in the coming decades, the increasing volume of itinerant emigrants with their errant cattle, followed by a rising number of railroad surveyors, prospectors, miners, homesteaders, military men, agency workers, entrepreneurs, and contractors, brought with them added potential for conflict and, most fatefully, the phenomenon of drastically diminishing buffalo.[9] Their herds divided into northern and southern ranges straddling the stream of emigration and railroad construction, the buffalo population declined precipitously owing to intensified predation by the already-concentrated Plains residents as well as hunting by more recent waves of refugee and removed bands of Indians from the East. White commercial hunters, killing millions of the animals for hides, would virtually extinguish the herds by 1880.

The Native American Plains in the Nineteenth Century

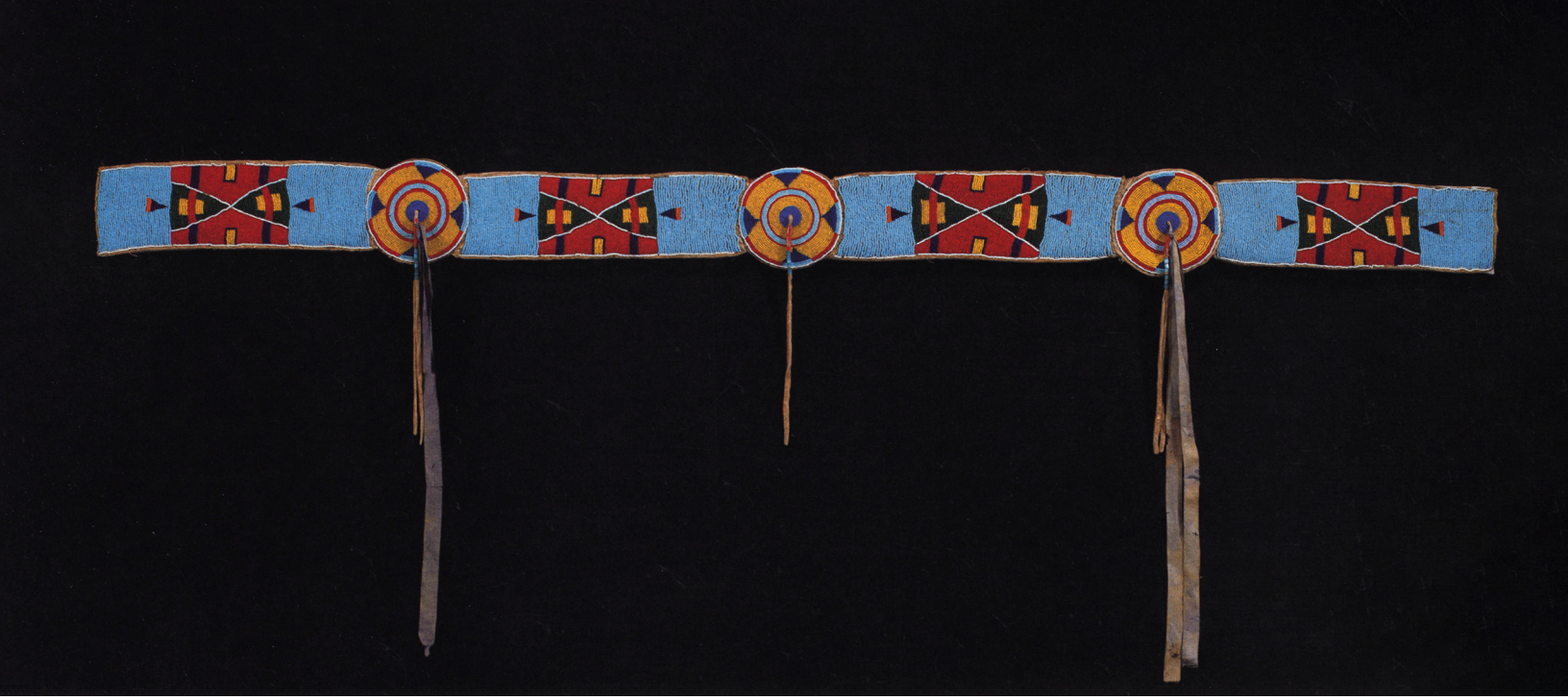
Native Term (pronunciation) – Common Term

A'aninin (ah-AH-nin-nin) – Gros Ventre
Apsáalooke (ap-SAH-ro-ka) – Crow
Báxose (pah-HO-djay) – Iowa
Chaticks si Chaticks (chaa-ticks si chaa-ticks) – Pawnee
Chiwere (ji-weer) – Otoe
Dakota (dah-COAT-ah) – Sioux
Gaigwa (GAH-i-gwhu) – Kiowa
Hidatsa (hi-DATS-aa) – Hidatsa
Hinono'ei (hinono-aano) – Arapaho
Inde (in-'DAY) – Apache
Kaw (kaw) – Kansa
Kitikit'ish (KIRI-kirish) – Wichita
Lakota (la-COAT-ah) – Sioux
Nakota (nak-oota) – Assiniboine
Namakiki (Numang-ka-ki) – Mandan
Nehiyawak (nuh-HEE-a-wik) – Plains Cree
Nimi'ipuu (ni-me-puu) – Nez Percé
Niúachi (ni-uu-T'A-achi) – Missouria
Numinu (new-mee-new) – Comanche
Omaha (uma-HA) – Omaha
Pikuni (pi-COON-ee) – Blackfoot
Ponca (pa-aka) – Ponca
Sahnish (saa-nish) – Arikara
Tsistsistas (ze-zes-tas) – Cheyenne
Ute (yout) – Ute
Wazhazhe (wah-JAH-jeh) – Osage

LEGEND

Pre-Reservation Native American Plains territory

Central Reservation lands after 1880



Cat. 7. *Blanket Strip*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1910. Tanned hide, cotton cloth, silk, glass seed beads, and glass beads, 15 1/2 x 4 in. (39.4 x 10.2 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 95:2010

Plains Native men, as was required of them, fought for their rights to the land and negotiated the best peace they could.[10] With the surrender of the Southern Plains Nations at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1875, and Sitting Bull's surrender at Fort Buford, North Dakota, in 1881, the fighting was largely over. Thereafter, the Plains Nations would be confined to reservations administrated by the capricious and often corrupt authority of federal agency employees and contractors, who interpreted and enforced policies of assimilation and cultural erasure while claiming they served the interests of both the Native people and the country at large.

Many suffered, some flourished, most made the best with what they had. Ironically, however, and perhaps inevitably, the traditional values of initiative and skill mobilized Native men and women to protect and reinforce their cultural practices and their integrity. The regalia and beadwork women made in the 1860s and '70s, the period of greatest conflict and uncertainty, remain today some of the most beautifully conceived and finely crafted objects in all Plains history. With access to abundant and varicolored imported glass beads, women created distinctive community-based styles for clothing decoration, regalia, and beadwork, styles that emerged in the 1860s and became increasingly elaborate and innovative in the following decades, as amply demonstrated by many of the items in the Danforth Collection.

Artistic productivity only increased on the federally administered reservations during the 1880s, despite official efforts at coercive assimilation. While government-run Courts of Indian Offenses forbade ceremonies and dances, Native dancing persevered in spite of punitive discouragement, with Native peoples eventually challenging such prohibitions in court. Men and women sought opportunities for travel and pay with Wild West shows despite agency resistance to such enterprises. Venues for arena and competitive dancing at fairs, parks, round-ups, expositions, gatherings, and powwows proliferated during the early twentieth century, encouraging travel and exchange.[11] Artistic production of beadwork and

regalia kept pace with this renewed demand, and Native artists also sought buyers among the spectators and other outsiders at fairs and shows and even via mail order. The production and sale of art and beadwork contributed substantially to reservation economies.

Artistic creation and the circulation of artful things continued to bind Native people to their communities and to one another during the social adjustments to reservation life. Grandmothers, aunties, and the young women they taught made cradles and clothing for beloved children and dresses and dance outfits for the youth and for the loved ones of extended family. They created elaborately decorated garments, pipe bags, painted parfleches, tipi bags, and other items to be distributed at vast giveaways, where the gifting of food, household goods, and finely crafted objects commissioned from well-known artists honored community and extended family. These acts of beneficence reinforced webs of reciprocity, drawing communities together. The generations since have been challenged by social, political, and economic disadvantages, and yet language, ceremony, cultural performance, and art remain the wellspring of cultural memory and of revitalization for the Native Nations of the Great Plains.

Notes

1 This highly synthesized summary of Plains prehistory stems from readings in Raymond DeMallie, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Plains*, vol. 13, parts 1 and 2 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), esp. pp. 173–279. See also Karl H. Schlesier, ed., *Plains Indians, A.D. 500–1500* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); and Waldo R. Wedel, *Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

2 See David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., eds., *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians A.D. 1400–1700* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

3 William R. Swagerty, "History of the United States Plains until 1850," in DeMallie, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Plains,* vol. 13, pp. 256–79.

4 Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), esp. p. 137.

5 For a more detailed discussion of the influx of European trade goods on the Plains, see Janet Catherine Berlo and Arthur Amiotte, "Generosity, Trade, and Reciprocity among the Lakota: Three Moments in Time," in this volume.

6 Joseph Jablow, *The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795–1840* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

7 These quotes are culled from Waldo R. Wedel, "Some Early Euro-American Precepts of the Great Plains and Their Influence on Anthropological Thinking," in B. W. Blouet and M. P. Lawson, eds., *Images of the Plains: The Role of Human Nature in Settlement* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 13–22.

8 See Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Great Treaty Council at Horse Creek," in S. S. Harjo, ed., *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations* (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2014), 88–115.

9 "Errant cattle" is a reference to the infamous 1854 episode when a stray cow led to a disastrous confrontation between Brave Bear's village of Lakota and the U.S. Army. See Jeffery Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 40–41.

10 Ibid. Ostler's work is the best treatment of these eventful decades for the Sioux of the northern and central plains.

11 See Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2003); as well as Adriana Greci-Green, "Performances and Celebrations: Displaying Lakota Identity 1880–1915" (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, 2001).

Generosity, Trade, and Reciprocity among the Lakota: Three Moments in Time

Janet Catherine Berlo and Arthur Amiotte

It's Fourth of July on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, circa 1926. The Lakota people have come from near and far, arriving on foot or by horseback, mule cart, pickup truck, or automobile. For many generations they have gathered in the month after the summer solstice, an appropriate time for prayer, visiting, the making of marriages, and the giving of gifts. Many will wear their finest outfits, and give away objects they have spent the last twelve months making.

The elders tell the children that, in ancient times, White Buffalo Woman taught the Lakota the fundamental rituals that define them as a people. Most important was the Sun Dance, an annual summer ceremonial in which the Lakota honor the life-giving power of the sun, remembering and re-enacting the rituals given to them in antiquity by White Buffalo Woman, which would include celebrating and reaffirming their cultural and spiritual endurance through bodily mortification, songs, dance, offerings, giveaways, and feasting.

But the Sun Dance had been outlawed by the U.S. government in 1883. Nevertheless, using a strategy similar to many colonized peoples around the globe, the Lakota found a way to keep some of their traditions intact, in this case by cloaking them in the patriotic activities of the Fourth of July, the government-sanctioned holiday that commemorated a small nation's declaration of independence from its British overlords in 1776, which, some 150 years later, was marked by lavish public pageantry across the United States. Here in Lakota country, however, new patriotic impulses mixed with older Lakota demonstrations of cultural values.

Art historians and anthropologists have increasingly focused on the cultural biography of the objects we study: how things made in one setting accrue successive layers of new meanings as they are used, circulated, reused, and reevaluated.[1] The objects in the Danforth Collection are prime examples of this. Most were made during the early Reservation Era, the period circa 1875 to circa 1925 when Native peoples were confined within strict geographic boundaries delineated by the federal government.[2] Beaded and quilled garments, moccasins, bags, and other items played myriad roles during that time. Some were made for personal use, others for gift giving or for sale to outsiders. Some objects played all three of these roles over time.

Meanings attached to cultural objects may be remarkable in their endurance across generations, as many of the brief essays in this catalogue demonstrate. The meaning of generosity, for example, has maintained its hold as a fundamental attribute of a high-ranking Lakota, despite enormous cultural flux across two centuries. Among the Lakota, as is true of many Amerindian peoples, traditional values of generosity and reciprocity have long been promulgated through the making, use, and exchange of objects.

A small object in the Danforth Collection—a "penny bag" probably made around 1910 (cat. 8)—is emblematic of the value of generosity in Lakota culture. This hand-tanned deerskin pouch shows extreme care in its design and execution. Porcupine-quillwork designs ornament the front and back. The bag's edges are fringed, and from it hang multiple decorative appendages of meticulously wrapped quillwork, tin-cone tinklers, and red feather tufts.

Cat. 8. *Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1910. Tanned hide, porcupine quills, feathers, and tin cones, 13 × 8 1/2 in. (33 × 21.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 110:2010

As its name suggests, this bag was intended to hold a U.S. one-cent coin. In 1926, Charley American Horse, a Lakota, explained to folklorist Martha Warren Beckwith that at the annual Fourth of July festivities at Pine Ridge, the committee of chiefs and headmen would appoint young men of good families to collect money for the dance to be held the following year. Each of these young men was given a penny decorated with a ribbon, and these were to be returned in a handsomely adorned bag the next year, along with beaded items and money assembled from the man's extended family.[3] The Fourth of July festivities also included a dance in support of the poor, in which young men, howling like wolves, came in as if from a war-scouting party to distribute gifts to the needy, an event recorded a century prior by American artist George Catlin.[4] Sometimes called *maza cala* (literally "red iron," i.e., "penny"), this giveaway is a means of circulating objects, wealth, and food to the less fortunate.[5] In the phrase *maza cala*, the *la* forms a diminutive— a "little red penny" that will grow into something very big.

Thus, in unpacking the meanings of this small bag, itself representative of an ancient art form—porcupine-quilled buckskin—and intended to enclose a coin of the modern nation-state, we find many ideas surrounding culturally mandated generosity, social status, redistribution of wealth, and the significance of artistically ornamented material goods (quillwork). The image of the eagle on the bag reminds the recipient of the onerous (hence sacred) task to be accomplished: to sacrifice to provide for the people, just as the sun (sometimes symbolized as an eagle) yields its life-giving powers to the earth. To the U.S. government, the eagle was a symbol as well, marking many forms of currency. Here, bag and coin become a transcultural symbol of Lakota largesse—the topic around which this essay revolves.

We look at three moments on the Northern Plains, each approximately seventy-five years apart, in order to elucidate how objects were—and continue to be—made and circulated within and beyond indigenous societies. In each instance, we stress the complexity and cosmopolitan nature of Native life. For far too long, outsiders have tended to romanticize and reify so-called traditional Plains life, as if it were separate from the larger world. We aim to show that even in the early nineteenth century—a moment to which we devote substantial focus, for it is the least well-understood—Plains peoples and their objects circulated within the context of a global economy, as evidenced in their art itself, which already incorporated elements from international systems of commerce. The Danforth objects mostly date from the middle moment—the early Reservation Era. Yet they were born out of a world of representations that was formed much earlier, one that still flourishes and carries meaning today. For this reason, we frame their production and use during the Reservation Era with narratives concerning the importance of such objects in the early nineteenth century as well as during the last fifty years, the final moment we consider here. Through this cross-generational approach, we aim to show the rich texture of Lakota life and how that texture has long been enhanced by the making and use of finely adorned objects, objects themselves that, in their conjunction of materials from the worlds of nature, Lakota ingenuity, and Euro-American commerce, indeed embody this texture and its interplay of cultural meanings.

I. Gift Giving, Trade, and Diplomacy at Fort Pierre, 1832–1834

Fig. 3-1. George Catlin, American, 1796–1872. *Ha-wón-je-tah, One Horn, Head Chief of the Miniconjou Tribe,* 1832. Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 in. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison Jr. 1985.66.69

Fig. 3-2. George Catlin, American, 1796–1872. *Tchán-dee, Tobacco, an Oglala Chief*, 1832. Oil on canvas, 24 x 29 in. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison Jr. 1985.66.71

In June 1832, hundreds of Teton Sioux set up camp at the confluence of the Teton and Missouri rivers, about 1,300 miles upriver from St. Louis. They were conducting trade at Fort Pierre.[6] This was no military fort but a trading depot of the American Fur Company. Here, as at Fort Clark, Fort Union, and other spots along the Missouri, Native people brought in the hides of buffalo, beaver, deer, and other game that, in turn, fueled the mercantile wealth of early nineteenth-century America. The Sioux traded these products that they had expertly hunted and processed in order to get the new items upon which they had come to rely: iron kettles, tools and knives, firearms, flints and gunpowder, beads, and cloth.

Both the white employees of the fur company and the Native people camped at Fort Pierre eagerly awaited a glimpse of the *Yellowstone*, the impressive 120-foot steamboat owned by the American Fur Company that had made its first journey this far north only the summer before. Undoubtedly the largest boat most Western Plains dwellers had ever seen, in 1832 it would continue on to Fort Union, 700 miles upstream from Fort Pierre.[7] Its two stacks belched smoke as it appeared to move effortlessly through the water, leading the principal chief of the Sioux gathered there to call it the "Medicine Canoe" ("medicine" being the name for anything powerful and mysterious).[8]

The *Yellowstone* docked at Fort Pierre for more than a week, and its appearance "was deemed a wonderful occurrence and the time of her presence here looked upon and used as a holiday," as artist George Catlin recalled.[9] A few days after the steamboat's arrival, the Sioux Ha-wan-je-tah (One Horn) and Tchán-dee (Tobacco) hosted a feast and giveaway (figs. 3-1, 3-2).

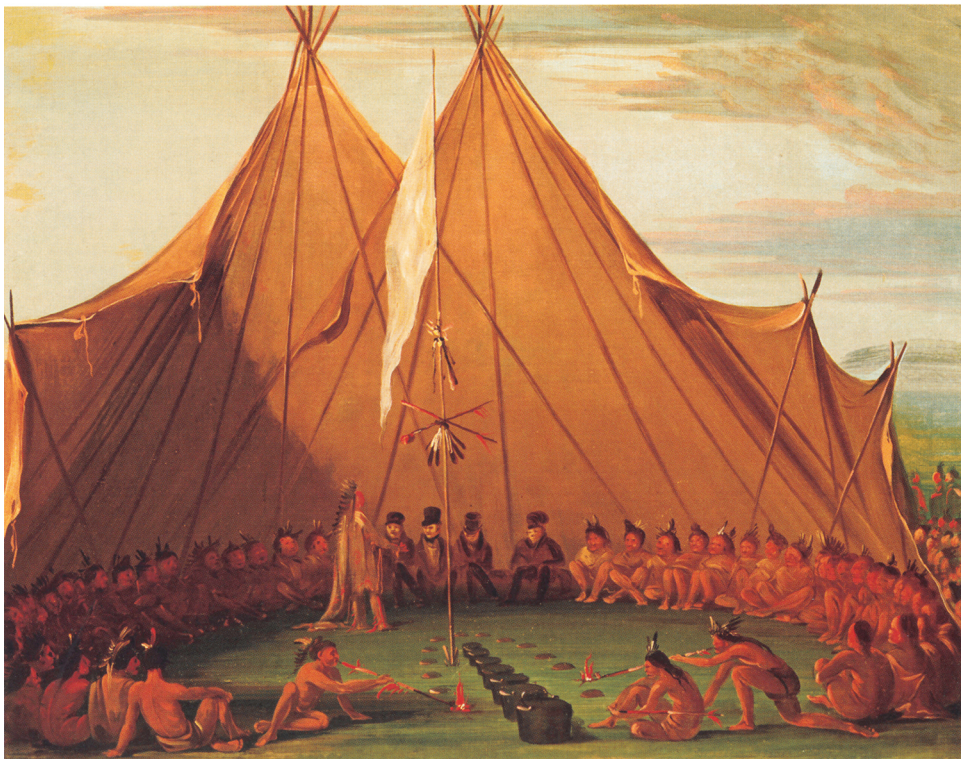


Fig. 3-3. George Catlin, American, 1796–1872. *Sioux Dog Feast*, 1832–37. Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 in. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison Jr. 1985.66.494

The guests were Major John Sanford (federal Indian agent for the Upper Missouri), Kenneth McKenzie (an important trader with the American Fur Company), Pierre Chouteau Jr. (who, as head of the Western Department of the American Fur Company in St. Louis, had commissioned the *Yellowstone*), and George Catlin. The artist had been the cause of some excitement himself, due to the uncanny likenesses of the portraits he had been painting, which all clamored to see.[10]

Catlin chronicled in both words and drawing how One Horn and Tobacco put their lodges together, making a semicircle "sufficiently large to accommodate 150 men" (fig. 3-3).[11] One Horn, the ranking dignitary and the orator for the occasion, welcomed the honored guests, acknowledging them, respectively, as the representative of the "Great Father" in Washington, DC (Sanford), an influential trading friend (McKenzie), the wealthy owner of the steamboat (Chouteau), and the newly befriended painter (Catlin), whose talent had earned him the metaphorical name "White Medicine." After his speech, One Horn "took off his beautiful war-eagle headdress—his shirt and leggings—his necklace of grizzly bears' claws and his moccasins; and tying them together, laid them gracefully down at the feet of the agent as a present; and laying a handsome pipe on top of them, he walked around into an adjoining lodge, where he got a buffalo robe to cover his shoulders, and returned to the feast, taking his seat."[12] Sanford then spoke and distributed tobacco and other gifts. Other Sioux headmen followed One Horn's lead, offering their own fine clothing to Sanford as well. The pipe was passed and smoked by all present, a gesture of the solemnity of the occasion, and the meat that had been simmering in six iron kettles was served. It was dog stew, which Catlin recognized as a significant honor, a "testament to the sacred vows of friendship."[13]

This event, so momentous and exciting for Catlin, was probably customary—if nevertheless occasional—for the others. The European-American men who ran the American Fur Company were accustomed to such treatment by the Natives who assembled at their trading posts, and the arrival of a boat bearing a year's worth of trade goods was a particularly strategic time for Native people to highlight their esteem for the traders and their guests. One Horn's bestowal of his chiefly regalia in front of everyone assembled was a public performance of a contract. It sealed a bond of reciprocity. He gave his very best in order to ensure that he and his people would be treated in like fashion.

We know what One Horn's shirt looked like, for it appears in Catlin's portrait of him (fig. 3-1). Like many early nineteenth-century war shirts across the Northern Plains, it was probably made of two soft-tanned elk or deer hides joined in such a way that the skin of the animal's neck became a triangular flap at the wearer's own. The shirt was embellished with a quilled rosette on the chest, and quilled panels decorated the shoulders and arms. Locks of hair, either offered by honored family members or taken from scalped enemies, were attached to the sleeves. One Horn's war exploits were painted on the shirt as visible evidence of his courage and fitness for leadership.[14] To give away a shirt as unique and finely crafted as this—along with one's leggings, headdress, bear-claw necklace, and moccasins—and to walk naked from the assembly was an act that combined humility and largesse. A chief accrues honor by showing such generosity.

The following May, the German explorer Prince Maximilian of Wied and the Swiss artist Karl Bodmer were aboard the *Yellowstone* when it returned to dock for a week at Fort Pierre. They were on their way upriver to Fort Clark, where they would spend the winter with the Mandan, whose ranks would be tragically decimated by smallpox just a few years later (and who are best known to us today from Bodmer's exemplary watercolors). While at Fort Pierre, Bodmer painted several Sioux, a large group of whom were again camped there. Bodmer's delicate and detailed portraits of Northern Plains peoples are the finest representations we have from this early era; he was a far better artist than Catlin, whose images are often slapdash and hurried.

Fig. 3-4. Karl Bodmer, Swiss, 1809–1893. *Chan-Chä-Uiá-Teüin, Teton Sioux Woman*, 1833. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 17 x 11 7/8 in. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, Gift of the Enron Art Foundation 1986.49.246

Bodmer's portrait of Chan-Chu-Uia-Teuin (Woman of the Crow Nation) (fig. 3-4) shows her in profile, wearing a classic early nineteenth-century Sioux robe painted with abstract designs and semi-abstract figures. The so-called box-and-border design was worn only by those women who had been blessed in the ceremony performed at the time of her first menses called *isnati awica olowan* ("she who dwells alone they sing over"). The name refers to

Fig. 3-5. Karl Bodmer, Swiss, 1809–1893. *Wahktagëli, Yankton Sioux Chief*, 1833. Watercolor and pencil on paper, 16 3/4 x 11 5/8 in. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, Gift of the Enron Art Foundation 1986.49.245

the ritual seclusion in which the woman would show her talent and fortitude by quilling and beading fine items for her family. Wearing such a robe into adulthood would signify to others that a woman such as Chan-Chu-Uia-Teuin had undergone this ceremony, which was accompanied by feasting and lavish giveaways. Thus, it signified a woman of status.

Of her dress beneath her robe, we glimpse only the bottom, with its band of metal cones that would jostle musically as she walked, and its tabs of blue-and-white beadwork. Chan-Chu-Uia-Teuin's moccasins are quilled in yellow, and her darker smoke-tanned leggings are beaded in blue. Maximilian noted of the Sioux at Fort Pierre that the men, women, and children alike favored blue and white beads in their ears and as necklaces, as evidenced in both Bodmer paintings illustrated here.[15] Indeed, the large blue and white "pony beads," a hallmark of this early period, were highly valued and often reused on later garments and ornaments.[16]

Bodmer also painted Wahktageli, whom the whites called "Big Soldier" (fig. 3-5). Maximilian's journals describe him as a "big elderly man about sixty years old, with large, lively eyes and a sharply aquiline nose."[17] A buffalo robe hangs from his right shoulder, the hairy side facing in for warmth. Many such robes had quilled (and later, beaded) bands on them, but if this one was so adorned, the artist has given no evidence of it. Wahktageli's shirt has delicate bands of quillwork along the shoulders and sleeves, with attachments of human hair. Given that Wahktageli's name in Lakota, *Wakte agli*, literally translates as "they return having killed enemies," it is likely these are scalp locks, evidence of the warrior's military prowess. Wahktageli's leggings are painted with cruciform designs, with the sides beautifully quilled in long bands and rosettes.

The status of this man is indicated not only by his finely quilled war shirt but by two key trade items as well. In his left hand, Wahktageli holds a pipe-tomahawk. Intended neither for smoking nor fighting, the pipe-tomahawk conjoins the contradictory meanings of pipe (peace) and hatchet (war). A gift given from members of one cultural group to those of another, it symbolized the fragile alliances forged across divergent ideological and political worlds, a symbolism that is further deepened by our understanding of how such an object

was likely made: a white man forged the iron, steel, and silver plate of the hatchet and pipe bowl from silver that would have come from the Spanish mines of Mexico, where Native labor powered the engine of Spanish wealth. Around Wahktageli's neck is a peace medal, which, like the pipe-tomahawk, was an important emblem of intercultural diplomacy across North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Peace medals were not only gifts from government agents on behalf of the president of the United States, or gifts from the president himself to those Native men who traveled in delegations to Washington, DC; trade agents gave peace medals as well. In fact, the American Fur Company had its own medal struck: a bust of John Jacob Astor graced the front, with shaking hands and a crossed pipe and tomahawk on the back. Perhaps Wahktageli's medal was from the agent at Fort Pierre.

While Bodmer was painting, Maximilian acquired some fine examples of Western Sioux garments: Chan-Chu-Uia-Teuin's painted robe and a parfleche, for which he traded directly with the items' owners.[18] (He sought to buy the garments of another woman but, as he wrote regretfully in his journal, "She wanted too much for all these things.")[19] The parfleche is evidence of intertribal trade, for it is Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), as evidenced by the inclusion of small black circles and triangles in its decorative schema, a hallmark of the Cheyenne graphic style of parfleche painting, which is renowned for its refinement.[20] In comparison, Sioux parfleche painting is bolder and less delicate, as seen in an example in the Danforth Collection (see cat. 9). Perhaps Chan-Chu-Uia-Teuin acquired her Cheyenne parfleche at one of the trade fairs on the Plains, or her husband brought it home from a raiding expedition.

Cat. 9. *Parfleche*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 11 1/2 × 6 3/4 in. (29.2 × 17.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 51:2013

When Maximilian visited Wahktageli in his lodge, he was given the gift of a dewclaw rattle, a symbol of Wahktageli's skill as a warrior of distinction, and the two men shared a pipe, which would have emphasized the sincerity of the gesture.[21] Some styles of dewclaw rattles and bandoliers were part of the ritual paraphernalia of warrior societies, and deer hooves and dewclaws were often attached to the fringes of garments and moccasins to make a clicking sound in movement. After trade was established with the Europeans and Americans, Native people often adopted little manufactured tin cones and small brass hawk bells instead. The Lakota name for these is the same: *maza sna sna*. This name was later applied to larger bells, too—just one example of how new trade goods were incorporated into Lakota language and worldview, a phenomenon that had, in fact, been occurring for quite some time.

Indeed, trade routes of great antiquity crisscrossed western North America (fig. 3-6), a network that was followed and then expanded upon by the Spanish, French, British, and, later, the Americans.[22] In ancient times, shells, feathers, copper, and stone traveled the longest distances, traded from tribe to tribe. In a more circumscribed area, the nomadic hunters of the Plains traded buffalo robes, hides, and dried meat in exchange for the tobacco and food crops grown by the agrarian tribes along the Missouri River. The first European trade goods made their way through many hands long before most of those who lived in the interior laid eyes on any European trader.[23]

Starting in 1738, the La Verendrye family became the first to explore and trade in the Upper Missouri. These fur traders from Montreal had been told by the Cree about the sedentary Namakiki (Mandans; "Sioux who live underground").[24] In exchange for skins, the La Verendryes traded gunpowder, knives, tobacco, and sewing needles, among other things.[25] By the late eighteenth century, some traders from Hudson's Bay Company had made their way from Lake Winnipeg to the Northern Plains, though a small amount of their goods had preceded them by decades. Their account books list tobacco, vermilion, beads, rings, looking glasses, and gunpowder, shot, and guns as their main offerings.[26] Goods from the Spanish Southwest—especially horses and horse gear—reached the Upper Missouri by way of middlemen. But it wasn't until the advent of the big riverboats in the early 1830s that an efficient means existed for bringing large quantities of trade goods to the Northern Plains and returning east with a full cargo of bulky buffalo hides and robes in regularly timed shipments. In fact, an 1832 article in a St. Louis newspaper about the steamship *Yellowstone* seems to offer a bit of civic boosterism in its enthusiasm for the way in which the modern transport system of the American Fur Company would rout its competitors:

> This enterprise will greatly add to our trade and intercourse with the Indians and subtract from that of the British Trader. [. . .] Many of the Indians who had been in the habit of trading with the Hudson's Bay Company declared that the company could no more compete with the Americans, and concluded hereafter to bring all their skins to the latter and said, that the British might turn out their dogs and burn their sledges, as they would be no longer useful while the Fire Boat walked on the waters. We are informed by Capt. B[ennett] that thousands of the natives visited the boat, were very friendly, and invited him to several feasts prepared in honor of the occasion. Pierre Chouteau Jr. Esq., Agent of the Company, attended the expedition, and returns, we are told, in high spirits.[27]

This increased trade precipitated a rise in what Thomas Schilz has called "trading chiefs" among the Native groups of the Northern Plains. These were middlemen who may or may not have held roles as traditional headmen, but through their negotiations with white traders and their facilitation of trade, they accumulated power and wealth.[28] It may be that some of those pictured by Catlin and Bodmer, such as Wahktageli, became trading chiefs.

Prince Maximilian, knowing he was one of but a small number of whites to have traveled up the Missouri, must have been taken aback to see Native men wearing European-style top hats (fig. 3-7). And when Bodmer shared drawing materials with some of the Mandan at Fort Clark, surely it surprised him when one drew a self-portrait in a blue trade-cloth coat (fig. 3-8). This high-ranking Mandan warrior depicted himself in his cross-cultural best. Shooting a bow and arrow, he wears a feathered headdress and a sash over his shoulder, which denotes his status as a member of a valiant military society. Yet he also wears the latest in "chief coats," as this staple of the fur trade was called.

Fig. 3-7. After Karl Bodmer, Swiss, 1809–1893. Alexandre Damien Manceau, French, 1817–1865. *The Travellers Meeting with Minatarre Indians near Fort Clark*. Aquatint, etching, and roulette on paper, 11 7/8 x 13 1/2 in. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, NNG 520.1

Fig. 3-6. Indigenous trade routes in the West

Fig. 3-8. Unattributed Namakiki (Mandan) artist, *Self-portrait in Trade Coat and Dog Soldier Sash, Fort Clark*. Watercolor on paper. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, 1986.49.321

While the peoples of the Upper Missouri during the early nineteenth century might seem to us remote from any trappings of cosmopolitan wealth, a surprising quantity of goods from global trade flowed into their world. As James Hanson, one of the foremost scholars of the fur trade, has pointed out, the centrally located Teton Sioux might, during a single year in the mid-nineteenth century, "fight the Blackfeet who traded with the Hudson's Bay Company, the Kiowas, whose goods came primarily from the Mexicans, and the Chippewas, who were supplied by the Great Lakes traders. Thus the Tetons might possess Woodland weapons such as ball clubs, Hudson's Bay Company dags [knives carried in a neck sheath], and Spanish pectorals at the same time."[29] Some of these things and more could also be bought at the local trading post or trade fort, where goods flowed in from Venice (beads), England and France (cloth and metals), and even China (vermilion). Diverse records enumerate the types and amounts of trade goods exchanged at the forts on the Upper Missouri. Among the dozens of items listed on the first order sent to St. Louis to fill the storerooms of the newly built Fort Pierre in 1832 are an impressive number related to dress and personal ornamentation:

Beads	1500 pounds blue and white
	900 bunches blue and white barleycorn
	130 pounds white and blue pigeon egg
	300 St. Lawrence shells
	50,000 mixture of white and purple wampum
	300 hair pipes
Bells	10 dozen horse bells
	50 hawk bells
Buttons	50 gross orange coat buttons [i.e., 7,200 buttons]
Feathers	12 dozen red and 6 dozen green cock feathers
Cotton yard goods	
	Calico–22 fancy pieces
	Cotton–14 pieces white and domestic plaid
	Cloth–93 pieces of mixed colors
Blankets	1130 pair blue, scarlet, green and white, ranging from 1½ to 3½ points
Chief coats	190, some blue and some scarlet
Rings	100 gross plain finger rings [i.e., 14,400 rings]
Silver	200 pair silver ear bobs, 2 dozen silver brooches
Awls	15 gross [i.e., 2,160 awls]
Needles	5000
Vermilion	600 pounds
Mirrors	40 dozen[30]

By discussing each one of these items briefly, in turn, we demonstrate that trading patterns and aesthetic preferences were set very early; some of these items continued to be central to dress, public display, and gift giving throughout the nineteenth century, and even to the present day.

Beads. These were among the most valued trade items from the earliest contact with Europeans, and they would go on to utterly transform Plains Indian art. While making art with beads might seem a painstaking process to us today, beads were marvelously laborsaving for Native women, who were accustomed to hunting porcupines, plucking and washing their quills, grading the quills by size, dyeing them, softening them by pulling them repeatedly through their teeth, and then finally attaching the quills to hide with sinew. Moreover, beads were durable and their colors did not fade. Small hanks of beads filled traders' packs at the end of the eighteenth century; three decades later, a whopping 1,500 pounds constituted a single year's inventory at Fort Pierre—many the same type of blue and white beads seen in Bodmer's paintings.

Bells, buttons, and feathers. All of these were used to adorn clothing and ceremonial regalia. Catlin painted Tchón-su-móns-ka (Sand Bar), the Sioux wife of the trader François Chardon, wearing a hide dress, the bodice of which is resplendent with brass buttons (fig. 3-9). The newly available tin or brass cones (visible at the bottom of Tchón-su-móns-ka's dress) were eagerly sought, as were manufactured bells. And while Native people had long adorned every kind of garment with plumage from abundant Great Plains birds, commercial feathers soon became part of sartorial display as well, including dyed plumes imported from Europe, as is evident in figure 3-8.

"Cotton yard goods" and blankets. Cloth came to be a large category of trade goods on the Great Plains, as it had been during the eighteenth century in eastern North America.[31] People of the Northwest Plateau and Northern Plains valued the distinctive Hudson's Bay "point blankets" that began to be distributed at the end of the eighteenth century, which were sized according to the number of black stripes, or "points," woven into one end.[32] American Fur Company records indicate that these were ordered from Europe and traded in pairs.[33] The nineteenth century brought cotton cloth by the yard, soon to become a staple of Plains life and dress. The 1832 order doesn't make clear what the standard size of a "piece" of cotton cloth was, but other company records indicate that the Upper Missouri Outfit was stocking close to four hundred yards of calico in 1833.[34] While plaids were popular, so were the sprigged and patterned designs called calico. Eighteenth-century Americans imported calico from England, but roller-printing of cotton fabric on a large scale began in New England and the Mid-Atlantic during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[35] As U.S. production grew, the cost of the fabrics decreased, even as their

Fig. 3-9. George Catlin, American, 1796–1872. *Tchón-su-móns-ka, Sand Bar, Wife of the Trader François Chardon*, 1832. Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 in. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison Jr. 1985.66.89

Fig. 3-10. Karl Bodmer, Swiss, 1809–1893. *Makúie-Póka, Piegan Blackfeet Man*, 1833. Watercolor on paper, 12 1/4 x 9 7/8 in. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska, Gift of the Enron Art Foundation, 1986.49.289

quality improved. Though the portraits by Catlin and Bodmer illustrate the influence of many trade goods in the 1830s, the shipments of calico noted on the 1832 order were probably the first to the region—a novelty that would, by the late nineteenth century, become a staple, and would transform the Lakota into a cloth culture.[36]

Chief coats. Given to Native men of high rank, the chief coat has been described by fur trade scholar Ray Wood as "military in style, usually made from red and blue cloth, with tails, gold braid, and buttons."[37] The fashion for chief coats began in the East in the eighteenth century, as part of the intercultural garb first worn by both Native and European men who moved fluently between Native and white worlds.[38] While Bodmer did not paint any of the Native men he and Maximilian encountered on the Upper Missouri wearing chief coats, just such a coat appears in the self-portrait made by a Mandan man using the art materials Bodmer had shared with him, discussed prior. The drawing, which was ultimately given to Maximilian, depicts a profile figure, as was customary in Plains graphic art, wearing a feathered headdress and military-society sash indicative of his Native rank combined with the blue-and-red cloth coat that denotes his cosmopolitanism as well.

Rings and silver. Judging by how many finger rings the Pikuni Blackfeet (Piegan) visitor Makuie-Poka (Son of the Wolf) was wearing when Bodmer painted his image at Fort McKenzie in September 1833 (fig. 3-10), there was good reason the Fort Pierre order called for "100 gross," or some 14,400 rings. As Maximilian noted of the Piegan in his daybook: "[O]n their hands they wear many brass rings, often on all five fingers, with four or five on each one . . . They get them by the dozen from traders."[39] The wearing of metal ornaments, too, was an "Indian fashion" that moved across the continent during the eighteenth century. Silver jewelry produced in Europe and in cities from Montreal to Philadelphia had long been part of gift giving and was an important part of traders' inventories in the East and Great Lakes region.[40] But the Piegan that Maximilian and Bodmer encountered already had silver from the Southwest, as Maximilian noted in his daybook and as Bodmer depicted in his portrait of another Piegan, Kiasax (Wolf on the Left).[41]

Awls and needles. The steel awl was a labor-saving device that allowed Native women to pierce their hide clothing for stitching with both beads and quills. Some awls came with handles while others were simply a metal pin that Native buyers would fit with their own handles made from wood or horn.[42] And while the male trader had perhaps forgotten the importance of thread in this incipient cloth economy, he did have the foresight to order five thousand needles, which Native women would sometimes insert into handles as well for piercing hide.

Vermilion. The Lakota term for adorning oneself in a ritually correct manner, *saiciya*, is literally "to paint oneself red." Across North America, red pigment was valued for painting one's body as well as one's garments, and vermilion, also known as cinnabar, was one naturally occurring red pigment prized for its vivid coloration, even as the mercury sulfide mineral is poisonous. Some of the best deposits are in southwest China, where it has been exported for centuries. Vermilion from Guizhou province, shipped in small packets from Canton (today's Guangzhou) and stamped with the name of a Chinese trader, formed part of American traders' supplies (fig. 3-11).[43] The trader at Fort Pierre ordered six hundred pounds of vermilion for distribution, perhaps packaged just like those illustrated here.[44] Both Prince Maximilian and Catlin mention vermilion's use in Native face and body painting, and in painting the part of the hair; Maximilian noted that this red dye "is very expensive for them, for the Company sells a pound of vermilion in its stores for ten dollars."[45] Bodmer gave a packet of vermilion to one of the Sioux men whom he painted at Fort Pierre.[46] It is likely that the women's robe that Maximilian brought back to Europe was painted with vermilion.

Fig. 3-11. Vermilion paint packets collected among the Pikuni Blackfeet (Piegan) in Montana, 1880. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (22/1841)

Mirrors. Finally, those who had embellished their appearance with many of the other fine goods enumerated here sought hand mirrors, the better to admire their own appearance. Men were the ones who wore hand mirrors, often slipped into beaded bags hung from the waist, as many photos from the Reservation Era attest. Some mirrors were mounted in carefully carved wooden boards by their owners and were considered status symbols. Mirrors were used not only in sartorial display but also in Lakota courting rituals. Black-tailed Deer Dancers and Elk Dancers would flash mirrors at desirable young women to mesmerize them.

Most Native people with any capital whatsoever had access to objects of the fur trade. But among the most prosperous were the Native consorts of successful white traders. Few of these women benefitted from legal marriage; the term in polite society was "country wife." Native women and white men formed alliances that combined intimacy and economic self-interest. Women processed the skins that traders needed in large quantities; a Native woman allied to a trader presumably could effectively marshal the labor of her extended network of female kin and channel the results to him. Maximilian noted that most of the traders had Indian wives "whom they purchase; they often pay one hundred, two hundred, or even three hundred dollars for them and offer one, two, three, or more horses, fine costumes, glass beads, knives, powder, lead, rifles, and the like for them."[47] Yet "purchase" is perhaps not the right term. Throughout most of world history, marriage has been seen as an economic alliance between families, with dowries being part of that transaction.[48] Writing about the Great Lakes fur trade, historian Susan Sleeper-Smith has cogently argued:

> Marriage and kinship strategies transformed trade into a social process and mediated the disruptions inherent in disparate and competing economic systems. Indian communities successfully incorporated European traders as well as other strangers, and even enemies through intermarriage. Marriage, either sacramentally sanctioned or "in the manner of the country" transformed French fur traders into friends, family, and allies. Kinship transformed the impersonal exchange process characteristic of capitalism into a socially accountable process.[49]

Successful traders' consorts could become quite prosperous and had their pick of the finest goods, as suggested by Catlin's portrait of Tchón-su-móns-ka, the wife of a Frenchman who worked as an interpreter and trader for the American Fur Company, discussed previously. Catlin noted that she was "very richly dressed, the upper part of her garment being almost literally covered with brass buttons."[50] Just as a Native husband might accumulate precious elk teeth to ornament his wife's dress, so, too, a trader might bestow dozens of buttons or coins on his consort to use for a similar purpose.

When we consider the intercultural trade, gift exchange, and commerce that took place at Fort Pierre in the 1830s, it is clear that both sides eagerly participated in it, and both felt enhanced by their transactions. The men and women of the Great Plains who wore the beads, medals, chief coats, coins, peace medals, vermilion, and other items of intercultural trade became the sophisticated cosmopolitans of their time. And, of course, George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Prince Maximilian were viewed across America and Europe as cosmopolitans of a different sort, ones who traveled to distant places and brought back tangible evidence of their unique voyages.

In all of this discussion of cosmopolitan and high-ranking individuals, it is also well to keep in mind that in indigenous societies of the Great Plains, as in the modern Western world, generosity is not merely reciprocal among one's peers and foreigners of high status. Catlin also documented at Fort Pierre in 1832 what he called a "Beggars' Dance," in which prominent young men would dance and sing loudly "in an appeal to the Great Spirit to open the hearts of the by-standers to give to the poor, and not to themselves, assuring them that the Great Spirit will be kind to those who are kind to the helpless and the poor."[51] This impulse for compassionate generosity would continue into the Reservation Era, as demonstrated in the discussion of the penny bag with which we opened this essay, and indeed, it remains central to the Lakota even to this day.

II. The Early Reservation Era, c. 1875–c. 1925

The visual glory of a Lakota ceremonial occasion during the first years of the Reservation Era was vividly described by John Gregory Bourke, a military man and budding ethnologist who witnessed a Sun Dance. Notably, many of the trade items that were becoming plentiful a half century before are now ubiquitous:

> June 20, 1881, Pine Ridge Agency
>
> As the crier began to proclaim the orders of the day, the Indians once more closed in spontaneously around him, forming a great ring 50 or 60 yards in diameter, and 8 or 9 persons deep, and aggregating several thousand men, women, and children. The display was no less brilliant than fantastic. Some were on foot, many on ponies, and quite a number in American country vehicles. Nothing could be added in the way of dazzling colors. Calico shirts in all the bright hues of the rainbow, leggings of cloth, canvas, and buckskin, moccasins of buckskin, crusted with fine beadwork, were worn by all, but when it came to other garments no rule of uniformity seemed to apply. Many of the men and women had wrapped themselves in dark blue blankets with a central band of beadwork after the manner of medallions; others gratified a more gorgeous trade by wearing the same covering of scarlet or of scarlet and blue combined. A large fraction of the crowd moved serenely conscious of the envy excited by their wonderfully fine blankets of Navajo manufacture, while a

> much smaller number marched as proud as peacocks in garments of pure American cut. Chief among these was "Sword," the captain of the Indian police, attired in a blue uniform with gilt buttons and a silk plug hat worn in a style which he must have imitated from some New York ward politician.
>
> Nearly all the Indians were painted, and wore their hair in two long tresses down the sides. These tresses were wrapped in red flannel, or in otter fur and reached to the waist. The median line of the head was painted with vermillion. Eagle feathers ornamented the crown and wonderful achievements in nacreous shell-work dangled from the lobes in their ears.[52]

Bourke had this to say of the women's garb:

> I noticed that they were dressed in all sorts of styles, while there was a decided preponderance of gaudy calico dresses and cheap rainbow-hued shawls. The more conservative adhered to the old-time gown of white antelope skins embroidered heavily with pale blue and salmon colored beads at bust, neck, shoulders, tip of skirt, waist and seams.[53]

Moreover, he observed "fine blue cloth studded with elk teeth, Navajo blankets of the first quality, calico dresses in all the colors of the rainbow, blankets of the deepest blue and most vivid scarlet, and moccasins of fine buckskin."[54]

Much of what Bourke describes had recently been drawn by the Sans Arc Lakota artist Black Hawk, who lived at the Cheyenne River Agency, near the confluence of the Cheyenne and Missouri rivers.[55] Black Hawk was commissioned by the trader there to make drawings on paper. His drawing of a social dance shows the wool and cotton garments, elk's-tooth decorations, bone-pipe ornaments, and beaded belts and moccasins worn on festive occasions (fig. 3-12).

Just two years later, in 1883, as part of the new Reservation Era regime, Interior Secretary Henry M. Teller instituted a "Code of Indian Offenses," meant to stamp out what he called "heathenish practices."[56] Among the "offenses" for which individuals could be punished by having their ration cards withheld (effectively a means of starvation) or by being sentenced to imprisonment or hard labor were: participation in the Sun Dance, War Dance, or any other "so-called feast"; practicing as a medicine man; plural marriage and/or paying money or goods to procure a wife; and the ritual destroying or taking away of goods upon the death of an individual.

Central to each of these customs that were framed as "offenses" by the federal government was an act of generosity. Every Sun Dance or other ceremonial was accompanied by feasting

Fig. 3-12. Black Hawk, Sans Arc Lakota (Sioux), South Dakota, c.1832–c.1890. *Social Dance from Black Hawk Drawing Book*, 1880–81. Paper, ink, pencil, 10 1/4 x 16 1/2 in. Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York, Gift of Eugene V. and Clare E. Thaw. Thaw Collection, T0614.4

and the redistribution of goods. Every act of marriage—plural or not—involved a web of interfamily reciprocity. Finally, if not burned after an individual's death, personal possessions were given away to beloved family members and extended kin. It is fortunate, indeed, that late nineteenth-century lawmakers did not understand the social role of art objects in Plains cultures. If they had, they likely would have been alarmed by the proliferation of fine beadwork during the Reservation Era and outlawed that as well.

Despite official prohibitions, the Lakota nevertheless found numerous ways to continue their legacy of generosity through giveaways, deftly incorporating them as part of the new events that were tolerated and even encouraged by federal officials. Giveaways flourished as part of Fourth of July celebrations, local rodeos, and Catholic Congresses. Even during times of poverty and adversity, the giveaways and other events, such as agricultural fairs and performances for tourists, provided venues for Native people to make, use, exchange, and sell finely made beadwork and quillwork. Some of these objects live on in collections such as the one built by Donald Danforth Jr. now at the Saint Louis Art Museum. Of equal importance, and contributing significantly to our deeper understanding of these objects, the memories of this critical time in the history of the Lakota and other Native peoples live on today as well, in numerous photographs taken to commemorate life during the early Reservation Era and in stories that have been passed down, including those of Arthur Amiotte's family.[57]

Fig. 3-13. Standing Bear and Louise at their cabin with granddaughters Rose and Lulu Two Bonnets, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, c. 1918. Photograph possibly by Louis Bostwick. Courtesy of Arthur Amiotte

Amiotte's great-grandfather Standing Bear was born into a Lakota family in 1859, in the latter days of the classic horse-and-bison culture of the Plains. Trained as a warrior, hunter, and artist, he participated in the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876, when he was seventeen years old. He and his relatives traveled with Crazy Horse's band; following the surrender of Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, in 1877, they settled into reservation life. A decade later, Standing Bear joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, toured Europe, and returned home with an Austrian wife. The couple set up their household on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1891, and Standing Bear's wife, Louise Reinick, was given the Lakota name *Mniowanca Oyate Wawokiye Wiz*, literally, "woman who comes from across the ocean to help the Lakota people" (fig. 3-13). She learned Lakota and raised the couple's three daughters: Hattie (1892–1949, Red Bird Woman), Lillian (1894–1983, Blue Star Woman), and Christina (1897–1984, Two Birds Woman). In their household, Lakota was the first language, and Viennese and Lakota habits of hard work and comportment were conjoined. For their era and their community, Standing Bear and Louise were notably prosperous members of a cash-and-barter economy. Louise became something of a country doctor and midwife: she imported medicines and attended the sick, pregnant, and injured, setting broken bones and suturing wounds. This became a source of income. A natural outcome of this occupation was the making of caskets, which provided more income, usually in goods or livestock as well as cash. Standing Bear's prosperity and moral leadership led to his being elected by the people in his district as a traditional headman, an office that compelled him to generously share and distribute the family's resources on a regular basis, especially foodstuffs and beef. His ceremonial duties also encompassed the redistribution of goods, including many items made by his industrious female kin.

Standing Bear became a successful farmer and rancher. By 1911, the family moved onto their allotment of land in Manderson, South Dakota, building a fine log home at a cost of $800. Official records show that by 1913 they also had a barn, 640 acres of land (of which eighty acres were farmed), thirty horses, a hundred cattle, and a thousand dollars in savings.[58] Even though the performance of traditional ceremonies had been drastically curtailed by the government—ceremonies that a high-ranking man such as Standing Bear would have sponsored—a sense of noblesse oblige remained undiminished. Standing Bear and Louise's daughters recalled the many acts of generosity practiced by their parents. In turn, these traditions were passed on to the children and grandchildren of Hattie, Lily, and Christina, both through story and through example.

One such story echoes the instance of a high-ranking man removing his shirt and bestowing it on an outsider at Fort Pierre in 1832, as discussed at the outset of this essay. In the 1920s, Standing Bear hosted a giveaway for his friend Plenty-Coups (1848–1932), a renowned Apsáalooke (Crow) chief.[59] At this giveaway, Standing Bear's granddaughter Rose Two Bonnets Gibbons, Christina's first-born daughter, was told to "count coup" on the distinguished chief. In battle, counting coup on an enemy is to be so brave as to get close enough to touch him with one's coup stick, and part of the Lakota welcoming of Crow guests was to have a child ritually count coup on the leader by symbolically tapping him on the shoulder with a decorated

Fig. 3-14. Standing Bear, Lakota (Sioux), 1859–1933. *Wicaseyetepika (Chiefs), number 19 from Standing Bear's Drawings*, 1928. Pencil and colored pencil on paper, 6 x 9 in. Buechel Memorial Museum, St. Francis Mission, Rosebud, South Dakota

stick. Although Plenty-Coups was then in his seventies, the child had heard stories of the fierce Crow warriors, even at her young age. So she said, "Crow man, you're going to die," and instead of just tapping him, she beat him with the stick. Although Plenty-Coups found this funny, Standing Bear was so mortified that he removed his newly beaded shirt and leggings that his youngest daughter, Christina, had just made for him. He apologized to Plenty-Coups, saying, "This is a new generation; they don't understand the traditions." With the grace and equanimity of a chief, Plenty-Coups replied, "It doesn't matter. We are brothers." (He had, some years before, adopted Standing Bear as a relative—a sign of great esteem.) So Christina had to make her father another chief's shirt.

While we don't know all the details of what else was given away at that ceremony, we can extrapolate from other family stories, and from what was customary. Certainly Standing Bear would have had a number of cattle killed and sides of beef roasted for his honored guests. Tripe soup, roasted tongue, heart, and ribs, and quantities of beef in soups of corn and wild prairie turnips would have been served, as well as plenty of precious pemmican, meat roasted, dried, and pounded together with dried chokecherries, melted marrow, and kidney fat. After the feast, gifts would have been distributed: hand-beaded or quilled moccasin tops, bags of various sorts, commercially made Pendleton and Hudson's Bay wool blankets, Navajo saddle blankets, fringed Victorian women's shawls, yardages of calico and wool broadcloth, and handmade quilts and pillows. Special gifts of parfleche containers packed with pemmican would have been given to the Crow guests for their return trip, while little muslin bags of Bull Durham tobacco would have been passed around as well.

In the early 1970s, Amiotte's grandmother Christina and great-aunt Lily told him stories about their father's generosity, which often had held valuable lessons for them. Lily, the tomboy and horsewoman, told one story that included herself:

> We were riding hard, rounding up cattle. One couldn't be found. Rumor had it that an old couple and their daughter had rustled and butchered one of Standing Bear's cows. I accused them: "It is said that you have stolen one of my father's cows." They denied it. I said, "Why is your cellar door closed, even though it's summer time? And I smell something—I think I know what it is." I walked in, opened a chest of drawers, and it was full of fresh tripe. I wrapped it in cloth and tied it on my horse, telling them, "You will pay!"
>
> When I got home my father was furious—but at me, not at them. "Those people had a reason for what they did," he said. "They must have been desperate. They should have asked me, but at one time they were prominent people. They were too embarrassed to come begging. You take the food back and tell them, "My father is glad that you have meat now."

The centrality of such largesse to the Lakotas' sense of leadership is echoed in Standing Bear's characterization of Lakota headmen, told to Father Eugene Buechel when Standing Bear drew a picture of traditional Lakota chiefs (fig. 3-14): "They must help all who need

help: food, clothes, horses, and so forth . . . [A chief] must not get angry even if his wife is stolen or a brother killed near his tent."[60]

Headmen were not the only Lakota of whom such generosity was expected. In more prosperous families such as Standing Bear's, the tradition of honoring special children persisted well into the Reservation Era and beyond. *Hunka Lowanpi* (the making of relatives) can mark the transformation of friends into kin, or it can highlight a particularly strong kin relationship that already exists. Within a family, it can signify a child who is destined to bear the burden of moral generosity him- or herself, a practice reminiscent of the Christian scripture, "Of those to whom much has been given, much is expected" (Luke 12:48). Such a ceremony may be performed over a particularly virtuous girl after her first menses to mark her transition to a womanhood of service and generosity to others. In the stories handed down among Lakota people, it is said that when a man named Slow Buffalo first performed this ceremony, he told the young woman he had blessed:

> You will now go forth among your people in a holy manner, and you will be an example to them…As Wakan-Tanka ["the Great Mysterious"] has been merciful to you, so you, too, must be merciful to others, especially to those children who are without parents. If such a child should ever come to your lodge, and if you should have but one piece of meat which you have already placed in your mouth, you should take it out and give it to her. You should be as generous as this![61]

Individuals who have been so blessed thus become a sort of moral aristocracy, perpetuating generosity and grace. Around the year 1924, Eva Roubideaux and Albert Six Feather apparently were the focus of such an honoring ceremony at the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota (fig. 3-15). Each wears fully beaded garments, in which both figural and

Fig. 3-15. Albert Six Feather and Eva Roubideaux (Young) in beaded regalia for honoring ceremony, 1924. Gelatin dry plate. Photograph by Joseph A. Zimmerman. Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Libraries

geometric designs are formed within a ground of white beads that covers the entire garment. Such extravagant use of beads is not seen before the Reservation Era, and the bold designs would have been visually striking from a distance, as the wearers paraded around the camp circle. Marsha Bol has characterized these fully beaded children's garments as a response to the extreme social disruption and threat of assimilation posed by federal reservation policies: literally to wrap one's offspring in the beaded regalia of Lakota life was to honor them as beloved children, and to afford them some protection against the trials and adversities they would face.[62] Draped over the wagon in which the children ride is a fine Navajo striped blanket, a bone breastplate, and two fully beaded yokes of women's dresses. Receiving the gift of a fully beaded bodice at such an honoring ceremony, a woman would make and attach her own buckskin skirt of the proper girth.[63]

A number of objects in the Danforth Collection evince in marvelous detail the kind of finery that the black-and-white photo here can only suggest, such as an elaborately beaded saddle blanket (see cat. 114) and the beaded and fringed double saddle bags (cat. 11) that would have been an elegant sight adorning a horse replete with a beaded bridle, martingale, and anklets above each hoof. A set of quilled or beaded tipi or tipi bags (see cats. 47–55) balanced on either side of the saddle blanket would have drawn the admiration of others, as would the rider's beaded moccasins (cat. 10).

Cat. 10. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass beads, length, each: 9 in. (22.9 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 11. *Saddle Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Front and back. Tanned hide, glass beads, and pigment, 90 × 13 in. (228.6 × 33 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 167:2011

Fig. 3-16. Sioux Indian Handiwork, Giveaway on Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota, 1900–1910. Photograph by Frank Fiske, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Frank Fiske Collection 1952-5847

A 1902 photo of a giveaway at Fort Yates, North Dakota, the tribal headquarters of the Standing Rock Sioux, captures one moment in a ceremony of generosity (fig. 3-16), probably a Fourth of July giveaway, where the penny owners discussed at the start of this essay were responsible for marshaling the resources for the community celebration. The festivities would open with a parade around the perimeter of the camp as community members entered the arena on horseback, on foot, and in buggies and wagons hitched to gift horses adorned with objects to be given away. The pitching of the painted tipi (left) and tipi liner (right) in front of the regular camp circle was a declaration of this community's pride in being selected to sponsor this portion of what would have been several days of celebration. The tipi liner—or sometimes two or three of them—was pitched outdoors to symbolically extend the reach of the tipi and all it represents, such as safety, hospitality, and the relatedness of family, thus creating a semi-sacred arena around which the people gathered. The altar for the sacred pipe, the singers with drum, and the various participants and officials conducting the ceremony would be located here as well.

The family, extended family, and designated helpers provided a feast for the assembled guests, followed by the giveaway. As this photo well illustrates, numerous objects were offered: six pairs of painted parfleche boxes (usually packed with enamel dishes, pemmican, and cloth yardage), several stacked pairs of parfleche envelopes, two dentalium-decorated

dresses and beaded moccasins (on either end of the tipi liner), two beaded pipe bags, an eagle-feather headdress, and an otter-skin bandolier with round mirrors (on the front of the unpainted tipi). Numerous geometric quilts or quilt tops and yardages of calico and small patchwork pillows are spread on the ground. Not evident here, however, is one gift that was very popular. For months before a giveaway, female family members would bead sets of moccasin tops. Sometimes only the major designs were beaded, and the recipient would fill in the rest of the beadwork. The giver would provide a square of rawhide for the sole, which the new owner would cut to her own size and sew to the beaded tops. Some of the moccasins preserved in the Danforth Collection may originally have been given away as these beaded tops (see, for example, cat. 12).

The woman at left in the photo appears to be holding parfleche envelopes that have been opened; perhaps she has just distributed handfuls of pemmican to observers and participants. At the close of the giveaway, such women might even offer their umbrellas and beaded buckskin dresses, leaving them wearing only their everyday calico attire. The beaded garments of the honored young people (such as those in fig. 3-15) would also be removed and given to chosen recipients, as would the horse trappings and even the horses themselves.

Cat. 12. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 3 1/2 × 10 × 4 in. (8.9 × 25.4 × 10.2 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 57:2013a,b

A praise song and a round dance would follow. Then a procession of all the recipients—carrying, wearing, or otherwise displaying their gifts—would give thanks to the sponsors. The master of ceremonies would announce who had been selected to host the next giveaway, or a volunteer might offer to take up this considerable financial burden, and these individuals would come forth, take down the tipi liners, and carry them home to their camp, to be displayed the following year, thus perpetuating the ever-renewing cycle of Lakota generosity.

Other photographs, these in the archives of the St. Francis Mission, a Jesuit church established in 1886 at Rosebud, reflect the involvement of the Catholic Church in keeping alive certain vital Lakota traditions rooted in displays of generosity, even as other indigenous customs, such as polygamy and the Sun Dance, were forbidden by the missionaries. In the memorable words of historian Anne Butler, "This brand of western Catholicism incorporated two mismatched religious identities, passed them through a furnace of cultural discord, extracted their compatible elements, and compressed them into a mutually appreciated ritual."[64] At reservations such as Standing Rock, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge, priests organized sodalities that had enough similarities to Native pre-reservation male and female organizations that they filled a social as well as a religious function.[65] Members of these groups were responsible for organizing and soliciting money for religious festivities, raising money for the poor, and helping the sick. In 1891, the year after the tragic massacre at Wounded Knee, the clergy established the annual Catholic Sioux Congress to meet during the Fourth of July. Several thousand Catholic Lakota would congregate at whichever mission was hosting the congress. While the main events revolved around prayer, sacraments, and visits from eminent bishops and nuns, there was also room for conviviality and generosity. Photographs show that, like the secular Fourth of July celebrations taking place across the Plains, these Catholic Sioux Congresses became a substitute for the Sun Dance, which had marked the height of the summer as well. Native people arrived in horse-drawn wagons and, later, by truck, camped in canvas tipis, and set up big circular enclosures reminiscent of those formed during the Sun Dance.

Lakota generosity undergirded these events; indeed, Jesuit organizers remarked that "the entire Congress was funded by voluntary contributions of the Indians."[66] The annual reports about the congress published in *The Indian Sentinel* frequently noted the valued handmade gifts bestowed upon distinguished visitors, such as beaded saddle bags, pipe bags, and blankets. Among the most splendid was the finely beaded dress presented in 1924 to representatives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, to be given to the founder of their order, Mother Katharine Drexel (fig. 3-17). As a wealthy young woman in Philadelphia, Drexel had paid for the building of numerous Catholic missions, including the church and mission house of St. Francis at Rosebud.[67] This generosity was rewarded in turn with the best that the Lakota women of St. Francis had to offer: a handsome buckskin dress with a fully beaded bodice, valued at $300, an astonishing sum in 1924.[68] Designs on earlier yokes were simpler—hourglasses, crosses, or stars with a modest yellow, blue, or white border—while here the entire bodice, extending out over the arms, is fully beaded in geometric designs on a dark (probably blue) ground, even as the bow design in the middle lower

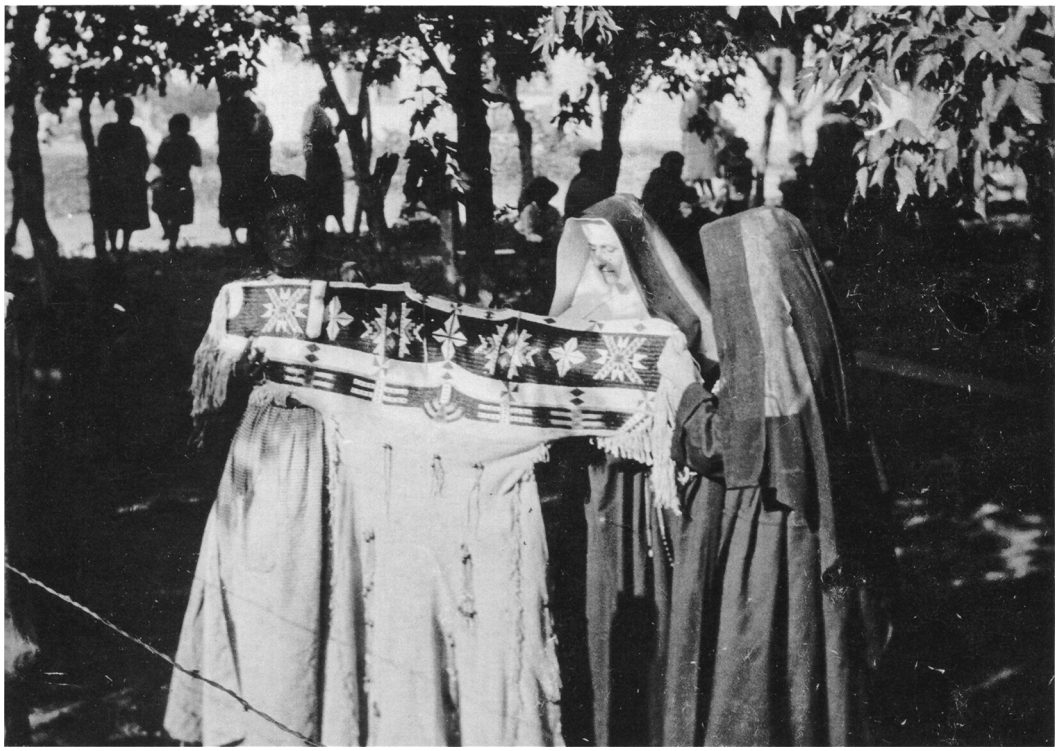


Fig. 3-17. Beaded buckskin dress being presented at Catholic Sioux Congress to Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, 1924. St. Francis Mission, Rosebud, South Dakota Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Photo # 09-1 49-09, Marquette University Digital Archives

border is kept as a female fertility symbol. This attests to the traditional knowledge retained by its maker, reportedly "an old Indian woman who is over fifty years old whose name is Mrs. Bull Walks Behind, Norris, South Dakota."[69]

In addition to the song, prayer, and speech making (all in the Lakota language) that took place at the Catholic Sioux Congresses, schoolchildren performed edifying religious plays dressed entirely in elaborately decorated Sioux clothing.[70] Other feast days of the Roman Catholic Church, such as the Feast of Corpus Christi, provided opportunities for Native people to wear traditional beaded finery as a means of acknowledging the formality and sacredness of the occasions. As one Jesuit observed in 1933, "Age-old love of ceremony enables [the Lakota] to fit into our Catholic practices."[71] Thus, even within the structure of the Catholic Church—a force for radical deculturation in so many areas—there were opportunities for the pageantry, art-making, oratory, and gift giving of the Lakota to endure.

Such opportunities presented themselves in other conflicted cultural contexts as well. Over the last two centuries, indigenous peoples from diverse parts of the world have presented selective aspects of their heritage as public performance for outsiders, or what has come to be called "staged authenticity."[72] Some scholars and Native activists have criticized such practices, suggesting that they present an "inauthentic" or debased version of culture; yet increasingly we have come to recognize that enacting some form of heritage can not only

Fig. 3-18. Nellie Jumping Eagle. [Cummins' Indian Congress and Wild West Show], 1904. Photograph by Gerhard Sisters Studio, Courtesy of Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, 28098

be a means of earning money in regions where job opportunities are limited, such as the reservations of the Great Plains, but this work also allows people to maintain and pass on traditions of the past, in particular song, dance, and material culture. Moreover, this type of work serves as a way for people to project messages about themselves and their culture that they want the larger world to receive; in the case of Native Americans, that message is usually, "We are still here!," in defiance of the narrative that suggests "real" Native peoples are long gone.

During the early Reservation Era, a time of great adversity across the Plains, Native people seized numerous opportunities to earn money in ways that allowed the traditions of the past to live on, even in attenuated form. Among these were participating in Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows and other touring extravaganzas, and dancing at tourist venues such as national parks and railway stops.[73] Nellie Jumping Eagle, for example, was one of twenty-eight Sioux who traveled from the Dakotas to be part of Colonel Cummins' Wild West Indian Congress at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 (fig. 3-18). Tribal rolls indicate that she came from the Porcupine District at Pine Ridge, where she was born in 1880, making her twenty-four years old when she traveled to St. Louis.[74] While we don't know what her role was in the Cummins' troupe, she brought her finest dress with her to the fair, made with navy blue trade cloth and a bodice stitched with hundreds of dentalium shells. She wears a leather belt with a long drop covered with brass roundels of the type that came into fashion on the Plains when Maximilian was there some seventy-five years before.[75]

From 1924 to 1946, the Northern Pacific Railway hired Sioux people from Standing Rock to perform for tourists at the railway depot in Mandan, North Dakota, where performers sold beadwork and earned money posing for photos. One image, sold as a postcard,

Fig. 3-19. Sioux performers from Standing Rock Reservation at Railway Depot in Mandan, North Dakota. Postcard. Photograph by Rolland Ray Lutz, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 09897900

captures the diversity of Sioux finery in the first half of the twentieth century (fig. 3-19). The group appears to be Yanktonai, or Northern Sioux, from the northern part of the Standing Rock Reservation, probably Cannon Ball, fifty miles south of Mandan along the Missouri River. The designs on the beaded strips of the men's shirts resemble the bear-claw designs favored by their northern neighbors, the Hidatsa and Mandan of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. The men also wear the loosely strung disc bead or beaded rope-style men's necklaces in multiple "sagging" rows favored by Mandan, Hidatsa, and their distant relatives, the Crow of Montana. (Other tribes further west—the Pikuni (Blackfoot), Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé), Numa (Shoshone), and the Plateau tribes—also wear this style. The Lakota, in contrast, favor the horizontally strung hairpipe bone breastplate for dress-up occasions.)

Several women wear the excessively large and heavy breastplates typically associated with many Northern Sioux. One in the center wears a variation of this large necklace made from glass cylinder (bugle) beads or shorter tile beads, fabricated on a loom. Several wear cloth dresses adorned with dozens of dentalium shells, while the little girl wears a beaded buckskin dress. The woman with sunglasses dons an eagle-feather headdress, usually worn only by men. This might be placed on the head of a tourist during a photo op. One man, second from right, carries a small hand drum, used as the group performed dances, sometimes

recruiting tourists to participate. Everyone expected to receive tips. It was generally understood that for a handsome price, some of these garments or parts of outfits would be sold to discriminating visitors.

Sometimes the commoditization of objects—making them into a commodity that outsiders value and seek out at such destinations, whether through the photo, the postcard, or as tourist memento—allows such objects to survive far longer than they would have if their only market was within the culture. No Lakota woman "needs" a painted rawhide parfleche today to hold her worldly goods, but such objects (both historical and contemporary) continue to have value among collectors, museums, and cultural centers. Thus, Native women continue to make them, because doing so brings personal satisfaction, cultural recognition, and maybe even some much-needed cash. In returning to the idea of "the cultural biography of things" with which we opened this essay, it is worth considering the ways in which an object made for the tourist trade can perform multiple functions. While it is being made within a household, its maker may be narrating to a younger generation the ways that things were done in generations past or imparting lessons in the use of particular materials. The publicity generated by such objects and their makers at regional fairs, the Indian Market in Santa Fe, or at exhibits at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, reminds people that Native Americans, their cultures, philosophies, and arts are still vibrant today. As tourism scholar Erik Cohen has noted:

> Commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions. Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public. However, old meanings do not thereby necessarily disappear, but may remain salient, on a different level, for an internal public, despite commoditization.[76]

Many of the objects in the Danforth Collection were made for Native giveaways and then circulated into the wider marketplace, as Native people sold them to traders or tourists as a vital source of income. Today, art-making still has a strong economic role for Lakota people. Yet by no means is everything in the present made for the market. As the next section demonstrates, generosity, largesse, and gift giving remain important guiding principles in contemporary Lakota life.

III. Generosity and Art-Making in the Contemporary Era

Times were difficult for most Lakota communities during the twentieth century. Though some Lakota were able to leave the reservation to advance their educations and find jobs, they were in the minority. For those who stayed, the deprivations of two World Wars punctuated by the Great Depression took their toll, making Pine Ridge, for example, one of the poorest places in the United States.[77] Despite these hardships, some Lakota persisted in making art for Native use, and in the last few decades there has been a renaissance of art-making among the Lakota and other Native peoples on the Plains. The powwow provides one venue in which makers of intricate beadwork, clothing, and other finery sell their arts, not only to attendees but, more importantly, to powwow dancers, who commission fine costumes and dance paraphernalia. The revival of Lakota ceremony, including the Sun Dance and its related rituals, has provided another forum for the making of artistically ornamented goods and the giving away of wealth.

The work and family histories of two well-known artist-scholars, Arthur Amiotte (b. 1942) and Emil Her Many Horses (b. 1954), attest to the ongoing importance of generosity and art-making in modern-day Lakota culture. Some Native people, including the parents of both Amiotte and Her Many Horses, were able to sustain their families through the mainstream economy. Amiotte's mother, Olive Earring (1925–1997), earned a living during World War II by working in a munitions factory near Edgemont, South Dakota, so Amiotte was educated in a school system that was non-Native, attending first the public schools in Custer, South Dakota, followed by Northern State University in Aberdeen and the University of Montana.[78] Her Many Horses was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation, but his parents, Lorna Pablo Her Many Horses (b. 1933) and Leo Her Many Horses (1933–1988), worked for the Indian Health Service and were posted at the Rosebud Reservation, where he spent much of his childhood. He was educated at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and as a Jesuit seminarian, he did graduate work in philosophy and Catholic theology at Loyola University in Chicago.

Both men started making art and learning Lakota values in their youth. Amiotte internalized Lakota traditions during summers spent with his grandmother Christina Standing Bear and his great-aunts on Pine Ridge. Because of a leg injury, he was not as active as other boys, and spent a great deal of time by his grandmother's side learning about the Native arts traditionally practiced by women, something not as common for males then as it is now. While best known for his collage series spanning three decades, Amiotte has also made work that incorporates the styles and techniques of quilt making, beading, quilling, and hide work, all of which he learned under the tutelage of female relatives, who have often worked in concert with him to realize his designs.

Her Many Horses remembers watching his paternal great-grandmother Susie Blunt Horn Matthews (1885–1971) busily doing sinew-sewn beadwork as she sat on her bed in the living room of her small home on Pine Ridge. She made beaded moccasins for each of her

many grandchildren, and later, Her Many Horses would replicate her designs as a way of honoring her. Having grown up at Rosebud, he also had female teachers there; as he puts it, "Some of those Rosebud people claimed us as kin, too."[79] Her Many Horses learned the most from Alice Fish (1900–1984), a Rosebud beadworker held in high esteem for having made nine fully beaded dresses. Because Her Many Horses often took his maternal grandmother to Mrs. Fish's home, he came to call her "Grandma Fish," and for many years he watched how skillful and inventive she was at complex beadwork patterns. Today, he has a notebook of Mrs. Fish's designs that he graphed out on paper, marveling that she kept them all in her head, sketching them on hide only as she began to bead.[80]

Her Many Horses learned lessons about art-making and about generosity when he began to accompany his maternal grandmother, Grace Pourier (1909–1988), on the powwow circuit, after she retired from her job as a nurse's aide. When his eldest brother, Leo, graduated from high school, Grandma Pourier gave Leo a car; more significantly, she commissioned an entire powwow outfit for him, and when he danced for the first time in the powwow at Poplar, Montana, in 1970, he won first prize. "Because they were so honored by this, Grandma and her two sisters gave away more money than he earned," Her Many Horses recalls, for Lakota protocol dictates that generosity be bestowed upon the beloved grandson, and generosity must be bestowed on the accomplishments of a grandchild. Emil Her Many Horses began to make Lakota arts in junior high school because, as he tells it, he went to a lot of powwows, and he wanted a lot of the items of dance regalia that he saw but couldn't afford. "The only way to get them was to make them myself," he says.

In 1987, Her Many Horses won first prize in contemporary beadwork for a beaded cradle he entered in the North Plains Tribal Arts Competition in Sioux Falls, which gave him the confidence to turn to art-making as a serious part of his adult's life work. As a teenager, when he had succumbed to the usual adolescent pleasures of partying and drinking, his father brought him back around to art-making by admonishing him that God gave him a gift, and if he didn't use that gift it would be taken away.

Arthur Amiotte grew up with a sense of Lakota noblesse oblige instilled in him through family stories and through example. Because his great-grandfather Standing Bear and his wife were prosperous, and Standing Bear was a headman, it was incumbent upon them to take care of those less fortunate, as previously discussed.[81] Amiotte's grandmother and great-aunts would tell stories of the sacks of potatoes, bags of dried beans, coffee cans of lard, and quantities of sugar tied in small cloths given to the hungry, a tradition of generosity continued by Christina Standing Bear, which was incumbent on her as the daughter of a chief.

The spirit of cross-cultural engagement reflected throughout Native history, whether through the earliest interactions between Native peoples and European traders or even via early twentieth-century performances for tourists, continues, too, as is evident in the work both Amiotte and Her Many Horses have pursued as adults, which includes curating, writing, lecturing, and consulting in addition to making art. Art-making serves an equally

important function in the efforts of both men to preserve the customs of their forbears. Her Many Horses has traveled with his family to many powwows all across the Plains, and has been commissioned by Southern Plains dancers to make Northern-style outfits for their use. In some cases, the gift of such an outfit is seen as so generous as to warrant the adoption of its maker into a particular clan; indeed, both Emil and Grace, his sister, have been adopted into an Osage family. "It's not just what happens on the dance floor," Emil says. "It's the relationships you make with people who become new family members." One year, Her Many Horses made a Northern-style traditional dress for Osage dancer Eunice "Dolly" Lane and adopted her as his Osage mother. The following year, during the Osage Grayhorse Ceremonial Dance, Lane's family outfitted him with Southern Straight Dance clothes. "The whole network of relationship-making is a very rich and satisfying part of the powwow," Her Many Horses says, recalling the years when his brothers and sister would be asked to serve as Head Dancers at a powwow. To be asked to be a Head Dancer was an honor, and the family usually had a giveaway to honor the dancer, which meant accumulating Pendleton blankets and star quilts to be taken along as giveaway gifts: "The car would be so packed with our camping gear, our powwow regalia, and our regular clothes that we would have to stack the blankets and quilts on the seats of the car, so that our heads would touch the roof when we hit a bump in the road," he says. "We always thought we'd have more room on the way back once we gave away all the items, but gifts would be given in return, and we usually returned home with the same amount or more items than when we left!"

Her Many Horses creates dolls in Lakota, Crow, Osage, Kiowa, and Métis floral styles, all of which he was exposed to during his powwow travels. To honor the heritage of the Pourier side of his family, he made a set of beaded parfleches in Métis floral style. "Grandmother Grace recalled that Josephine Richards Pourier, her grandmother, had a notebook of the floral styles," he says. "So to remember that story, I use floral designs."[82]

Both Amiotte and Her Many Horses recall the hustle and bustle of the women as they made quilts and other items to accumulate for giveaways, which might happen during the Sun Dance or a graduation, honoring ceremony, or funeral. It is the Lakota custom that, at someone's death, the relatives distribute the finest of the deceased's belongings as a funeral giveaway, in order to demonstrate how beloved that person remains to the living kin.

Amiotte was told that when his Austrian great-grandmother, Louise, died, a heartbroken Standing Bear and his daughters gave away all of their household goods and furniture. Christina distributed every piece of her mother's china and silver (objects from the white world) to the white women Louise had known: teachers, and the wives of ranchers and shopkeepers. According to Lakota custom, her clothes and letters were then burned. Standing Bear died soon thereafter, and the only things that remained that hadn't been given away were his farm implements—so all of those were given away, too. It was then up to Christina to rebuild the household and to take her father's place as a moral force in the community of Manderson.

Fig. 3-20. Arthur Amiotte at the Sun Dance giveaway, Sioux Valley, Manitoba, wearing a beaded shirt, leggings, and pipe bag made by his female relatives, 1984. Photograph courtesy of Arthur Amiotte

Standing Bear was buried in the last of his formal outfits, which had been made for him by Christina.[83] But the rights to that particular outfit lived on and were bestowed upon Arthur Amiotte in his adulthood. With the help of her daughter Freda Goodsell, Christina, now an elderly grandmother, created the outfit once again, this time for her grandson.

At the time, during the late 1970s and into the 1980s, Amiotte was helping to revive the Sun Dance and all its attendant giveaways at the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota, and at the Dakota community of Sioux Valley in Manitoba. For these efforts, it was decided that he should become the modern version of a "shirt-wearer," and it was the complete ceremonial outfit replicating that of his great-grandfather that was presented to him by the headmen at Sioux Valley (fig. 3-20). Amiotte describes the making of the shirt:

> Grandmother [Christina] and Aunt Freda worked on my shirt and leggings and pipe bag. The same hands that made Standing Bear's shirt made mine. But Grandmother said that as she was working out the design in her head, it wouldn't come. In beading, it passes through your head as you develop a design, because it is mathematical; you count the beads to make the design work. But it would not come to her. She had to pray. She took a blanket and tarp and went up into the hills behind her home, like a little Vision Quest. She offered the pipe and made other offerings. She prayed to her mother: "I need your help." In the middle of the night, she dreamed her mother over and asked her to help with the design. She came back in the morning and was able to commence the work.

The last time Amiotte wore the outfit ceremonially was for the Sun Dance he sponsored west of Custer in summer 1991. Isaac Dog Eagle, from Standing Rock, sang for that Sun Dance and proclaimed, "Arthur has led us back to the Sacred Circle." Amiotte's wife, Janette Murray, made seventy-five fringed shawls and numerous other items for that giveaway. In the formal portrait taken of them at the time (fig. 3-21), Arthur wears his fully beaded outfit, while Jan wears the last buckskin dress that Arthur's grandmother Christina owned. It is austerely adorned with beadwork, and little tufts of buffalo hair are sewn to the bodice. Amiotte's shirt, leggings, and pipe bag are now in the collection of the Akta Lakota Museum at St. Joseph's Indian School in Chamberlain, South Dakota, to be studied and enjoyed by the next generations of Lakota who will, in turn, adapt deeply held traditions of gift giving and art-making throughout the twenty-first century and beyond.[84] Likewise, the objects in the Danforth Collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum are held in trust, to be enjoyed and studied by future generations. Presenting these objects in this catalogue has been a deeply satisfying project of intercultural collaboration, as the knowledge and voices of several generations of scholars and artists, Native and non-Native alike, has enriched our understanding of these eloquent works of art.

Fig. 3-21. Arthur Amiotte and Janette Murray at the Sun Dance in Custer, South Dakota, 1991.
Photograph courtesy of Arthur Amiotte

Notes

This essay combines multiple ways of knowing. One author (Janet Catherine Berlo) is a non-Native scholar who analyzes historical objects in order to illuminate the intellectual and material culture of the people who made, used, and collected them. In addition to her training in art history and anthropology, she has conducted fieldwork, attended ceremonies and powwows, and in all these contexts, learned from colleagues both Native and non-Native. The other author (Arthur Amiotte) has been a practicing Native artist for more than half a century. Prior to his formal academic training, his first teachers were three generations of his Lakota female relatives, so he has learned from making objects similar to those discussed here as well as examining countless others in museums. Most importantly for this essay, our collaboration is one that extends back more than two decades: we were fortunate to have shared a Senior Scholars' Collaborative Grant awarded by the Getty Foundation in 1994–96, and we spent many months traveling together to museums, cultural centers, and Native communities as we researched nineteenth-century Plains graphic arts.

Because of the differing ways in which our knowledge was acquired, important statements of fact are offered in some instances in this essay without footnotes. A Lakota man who grew up listening to the stories of his mother, grandmother, and great-aunts need offer no footnotes for information he ingested with the *tumpsila* and *wasna* in his grandmother's kitchen. We offer this essay as a model for a truly transcultural collaboration that, for us, has long been ongoing, accompanied by much conviviality, a deep mutual respect, and a free exchange of ideas.

We thank those scholars who have assisted us in our efforts, including Ray DeMallie, Adriana Greci-Green, Jonathan Holstein, and Joe Horse Capture. We are especially honored that our friend and colleague Emil Her Many Horses has allowed us to tell a small part of his story in the last section of this essay. We are grateful to the Danforth family; to Matthew Robb, former curator at the Saint Louis Art Museum; and most of all to former assistant curator and Danforth project director Jill Ahlberg Yohe, for her valuable suggestions and for providing an opportunity for us to work together once again.

1 See Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91; and Nicholas Thomas, "Objects, Exchange, Anthropology," in *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

2 The Reservation Era is generally understood to begin around 1875–80. Some scholars see it persisting until 1960 (though, of course, many Native peoples continue to live on reservations even in the twenty-first century). See Frederick Hoxie, "The Reservation Period: 1880–1960," in Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 183–258.

3 Charley American Horse, "The Fourth of July Dances at Kyle, 1926," in Martha Warren Beckwith, "Mythology of the Oglala Dakota," *Journal of American Folklore* 43.170 (1930): 426.

4 Ibid., 427.

5 On this topic, in addition to ibid., see H. Scudder Mekeel, *The Economy of a Modern Teton Dakota Community*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 11–13; and Adriana Greci-Green, "Performance and Celebrations: Displaying Lakota Identity, 1880–1915" (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University, 2001).

6 Replacing nearby Fort Tecumseh and named in honor of Pierre Chouteau Jr., Fort Pierre was still under construction when Catlin visited in 1832. It served as the administrative headquarters of the Upper Missouri Outfit of John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, of which Chouteau was the supervisor. The town of Fort Pierre, South Dakota, grew on this spot, with the capital, Pierre, nearby. See Harold Schuler, *Fort Pierre Chouteau* (Vermillion: University of South Dakota Press, 1990).

7 Karl Bodmer's depiction, *The Steamer* Yellowstone *on the 19th April 1833*, is reproduced in Maximilian Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America During the Years 1832–1834* (Cologne: Taschen, 2001), 46–47.

8 George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* [1841] (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), vol. 1, p. 229.

9 Ibid., 228.

10 Ibid., 220–21.

11 Ibid., 228.

12 Ibid., 229.

13 Ibid., 230. The dog feast has, for centuries, been recognized among many Native peoples as an honoring feast. James Lockwood, a fur trader in Wisconsin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, wrote: "The Sioux Indians, and I believe it is true of all others, consider that the greatest compliment they can pay a stranger is to give him a dog feast. And this intended

compliment constitutes the burthen of the speech of the giver of the feast or the master of ceremonies. The traders are generally invited to these feasts. I have tasted dog meat; it is like pork, only it has a sweeter taste; those who can get over the prejudice against such meat become very fond of it, but my prejudice was too strong ever to be able to relish it." James Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," *Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society* 2 (1856): 186.

14 A similar Sioux shirt, without the pictorial painting, is pictured in John Warnock and Marva Warnock, eds., *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 32–33. Another, probably acquired by Lewis and Clark during their epic expedition in 1804–06, is in Harvard's Peabody Museum. See Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

15 Stephen Witte and Marsha Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 158–59: "Their ears had large openings in the lobes with long strings of blue and white glass beads, which hung far down." And later, "Many were wearing very nice wide neckbands completely and densely adorned with white beads, others with blue ones, and many, especially the women, had many sky-blue or white necklaces; they seem to like these two colors most of all."

16 See, for example, the Crow or Nez Percé mirror bag, Checklist page 223, object 50:2012.

17 Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2, 139.

18 See ibid., 159. On his return trip in April 1834, however, Maximilian bought many items from the stock at the fort, rather than from individual Native peoples, and he lists the prices he paid for them. See ibid., vol. 3, pp. 288–89. The painted robe exists today in the collection of the Linden Museum in Stuttgart.

19 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 159.

20 See Gaylord Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche: A Tradition of Abstract Painting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 105 and plate 22.

21 Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2, 141.

22 For a discussion of the development of trade items in eastern North America, see Arthur Ray, "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century," in Arthur Ray and Carol Judd, eds., *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 255–71. See also James Axtell, "The First Consumer Revolution," in *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 126–151; and James A. Hanson, *Firearms of the Fur Trade: The Encyclopedia of Trade Goods*, vol. 1 (Chadron: Museum of the Fur Trade, 2011).

23 The best succinct account of this remains John Ewers, "The Indian Trade of the Upper Missouri before Lewis and Clark," in *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 14–33.

24 G. Hubert Smith, *Explorations of the La Verendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738–43* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 19, 25.

25 Of interest to us is the fact that, in 1743, the Chevalier of Verendrye buried a lead plate on a hill near what would become Fort Pierre and then Pierre, South Dakota. On one side was the coat of arms of the King of France, and on the other the names of La Verendrye and his two voyageurs: LaLondette and Amiotte, the latter almost surely a non-Native ancestor of one of the authors of this essay. See William S. Wallace, *By Star and Compass: Tales of the Explorers of Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 74.

26 John Alwin, "Pelts, Provisions, and Perceptions: The Hudson's Bay Company Mandan Indian Trade, 1785–1812," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 24.3 (1979): 20.

27 Untitled article from the *Missouri Republican*, July 10, 1832, as reprinted in Richard Frajola, "Upper Missouri River Steamboats," http://www.rfrajola.com/ks/ks2.pdf.

28 Thomas Schilz, "Robes, Rum, and Rifles: Indian Middlemen in the Northern Plains Fur Trade," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 40.1 (1990): 2–13.

29 James A. Hanson, *Metal Weapons, Tools, and Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 9.

30 Schuler, *Fort Pierre Chouteau*, 89–91, based on his research of the American Fur Company records at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

31 In a statistical study of eight trading posts in the Great Lakes region during the early to mid-eighteenth century, for example, Dean Anderson calculated that cloth and clothing ranged from 43 percent to 75 percent of goods dispersed. Weaponry was the second largest category (10 percent to 25 percent). Dean Anderson, "The Flow of European Trade Goods in the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715–1760," in Jennifer Brown, W. J. Eccles, and Donald Heldman, eds.,

The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 93–115, esp. table 4. See also Janet C. Berlo, "Men of 'The Middle Ground': The Visual Culture of Native–White Diplomacy in 18th-Century North America," in Emily Ballew Neff, ed., *American Adversaries: Copley and West in a Transatlantic World* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2013), 104–15.

32 See Harold Tichenor, *The Blanket: An Illustrated History of the Hudson's Bay Point Blanket* (Toronto: Quantum/Hudson's Bay Company, 2002). A Kutenai man that Bodmer painted at Fort McKenzie may be wearing a point blanket. See Davis Thomas and Karin Ronnefeldt, *People of the First Man* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1976), pl. 125. Points indicate the size of the blankets: from 32-inches wide (one point) to 72-inches wide (four points).

33 The company's records show that a pair of three-point blankets would be exchanged for one or two buffalo robes, depending on the quality of the robe. Schuler, *Fort Pierre Chouteau*, 116.

34 "Abstracts of articles purchased for Indian Presents by John F. A. Sanford, U.S. Ind. Agent on the Upper Missouri, 1832, 1833," Accounts of John F. A. Sanford, Indian Agent, Upper Missouri River, U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, Central Superintendency, St. Louis, Missouri, and William Clark Papers Coll. #741, vol. 22. Accessed online, www.kansasmemory.org/item/224648, 31 (1832) and 40 (1833).

35 See Paul Rivard, *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002). Calico (from the Indian city Calicut, or Calcutta—today called Kolkata) is a plain-weave cotton printed in small, repeating patterns. See also David Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies Between Britain and America, 1790–1830s* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), esp. ch. 6, "The Diffusion of New Calico Printing Technology, 1809–1820s." By 1835, the mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, alone turned out more than three-quarters of a million yards of cotton fabric per week. Lynne Bassett, *Telltale Textiles: Quilts from the Historic Deerfield Collection* (Deerfield: Historic Deerfield [Mass.], Inc., 2003), 15. To demonstrate the economic implications of the rise of the American textile industry for the consumer, Bassett provides the useful calculation of the cost of fabric in the rural shops of western Massachusetts over a sixty-year period. The price of calico fell from a range between three shillings four pence and four shillings six pence in 1773 (equivalent to $11.31 to $15.34 today) to between 12.5 cents and 25 cents per yard in 1833 ($2.55 to $5.10 today). We have found no figures for what these costs would have been for cloth that had to be shipped to St. Louis and then up the Missouri River.

36 Oddly, the 1832 order does not list thread, though records from the following year indicate two pounds of thread on hand. (See "Abstracts of articles purchased for Indian Presents by John F. A. Sanford, U.S. Ind. Agent on the Upper Missouri, 1832, 1833," p. 40 [1833].) In the first half of the nineteenth century, most thread was sold in hanks; spools would come later. Two pounds of thread—probably spun in one of the mills in a calico-producing town in the East—would be quite a bit more thread than it might seem. Jenny Yearous, "Stitches in time: the development of sewing thread in the nineteenth century and beyond," *Uncoverings* 19 (1998): 155–78. As were beads in relation to quills, thread was a laborsaving material in relationship to sinew, for sinew was meticulously stripped in fine, thin strands from the sheath of tissue surrounding the tenderloin that abuts the bison's spine. After scraping and drying, it would be separated into fibers sorted by length and thickness. The tip of a sinew thread would be moistened in the mouth and then rolled into a finely pointed filament. Thin, long strands were used for beading and quilling, medium strands for sewing soft hides together, thicker strands for sewing tipi hides together, and short, thick strands for sewing moccasin tops to rawhide soles. While thread was useful for sewing the new cloth, it was not nearly as durable as sinew, nor would it provide the waterproofing that a sinew-sewn seam would, for both sinew and hide would expand when wet, making a more impermeable seam.

37 W. Raymond Wood, William Hunt, and Randy Williams, *Fort Clark and Its Indian Neighbors: A Trading Post on the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 97.

38 Timothy Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53.1 (1996): 13–42.

39 Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2, 425. Such rings could be made of silver, brass, or lead. See James A. Hanson, *Metal Weapons, Tools, and Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians*, 77–78.

40 One inventory in 1768 records nearly nine thousand pieces of trade silver, including dozens of armbands, gorgets, earrings, nosebobs, and brooches. See Martha Wilson Hamilton, *Silver in the Fur Trade, 1680–1820* (Chelmsford: Martha Hamilton Publishing, 1995), 43.

41 "They carry on their trading with the English forts of the Hudson's Bay Company; sometimes with the American Fur Company, along the Upper Missouri near its falls; and with the Spaniards near Santa Fe, etc., as Spanish woolen blankets, crosses, and other objects attest." Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*,

vol. 2, p. 421. Furthermore, Bodmer depicts Kiasax wearing a Navajo First-Phase Chief's Blanket (what Maximilian terms a "Spanish blanket") and a Mexican silver cross, evidence of intertribal trade that also made for a cosmopolitan look among high-ranking Plains men. See Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), fig. 1.29.

42 Hanson, *Metal Weapons, Tools, and Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians*, 61–62. Later, during the Reservation Era, the preferred awl was made from the metal spokes of umbrellas, which were tempered, allowing an awl made from them to hold a point longer than untempered metal.

43 Those shown in figure 3-11 were collected among the Piegan in Montana in the nineteenth century.

44 Traders' invoices in St. Louis in 1835 list vermilion at $1.18 per pound. Just a few years later, it was $2.50 per pound. See Charles Hanson, "A Paper of Vermilion," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 7.3 (1971): 1–3; and Charles Hansen, "Paint Pigments in the Fur Trade," *The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17.4 (1981): 1–5.

45 Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2, 424.

46 For mention of vermilion, see Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 95, 165. Prince Maximilian remarks on Bodmer giving vermilion (which Maximilian calls cinnabar) to one of the Sioux at Fort Pierre, in Witte and Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, vol. 2, p. 162. He further mentions Crees and other Indians with their faces painted vermilion, ibid., 234, 245, and 370.

47 Ibid., 432.

48 Indeed, in the next paragraph, Maximilian notes: "There are no marriage ceremonies among the Blackfoot; one pays for the woman and takes her home. The price is sent to the father through the friend or another man." Ibid.

49 Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 4.

50 Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 224.

51 Ibid., 245 and pl. 103.

52 Quotes from John Gregory Bourke's diaries were transcribed by Berlo from photocopies at the Center for Southwestern Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, document no. 917.8 B66d, vols. 43–44, abridged from pp. 1460–1504. Handwritten originals are at the Library of the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 See Janet Catherine Berlo, *Spirit Beings and Sun Dancers: Black Hawk's Vision of the Lakota World* (New York: George Braziller, 2000).

56 "Rules Governing the Court of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, March 30, 1883." Accessed via http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Code_of_Indian_Offenses.

57 Although Amiotte is coauthor of this essay, for ease of reading we refer to him throughout the text in the third person.

58 *1913 Industrial Status Report for Standing Bear, Wounded Knee District, Allotment #936, Pine Ridge*, archive of Arthur Amiotte. Amiotte provided this document to Louis Warren, who cites it in his informative text, "Standing Bear," in *Buffalo Bill's America* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 394.

59 Although the Crow had been traditional enemies of the Lakota, there were notable friendships across cultural lines as well. For more on the life of Plenty-Coups, see Frank B. Linderman, *Plenty-Coups, Chief of the Crows* [1930] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

60 Typescript written by Father Eugene Buechel accompanying the drawings that Standing Bear made in 1928 and explained to the priest. Files of the Buechel Memorial Museum, St. Francis Mission, Rosebud, South Dakota.

61 Joseph Epes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 126.

62 See Marsha Bol, "Beaded Costume of the Early Reservation Era," in Janet C. Berlo and Lee Anne Wilson, eds., *Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas: Selected Readings* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993), 363–70.

63 This is similar to recipients of beaded moccasin tops completing the moccasins later for an accurate fit, as Arthur Amiotte discusses later in this catalogue.

64 Anne Butler, "Western Spaces, Catholic Places," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9.3 (1990): 34.

65 Mark Thiel, "Catholic Sodalities among the Sioux, 1882–1910," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 16.2 (1998): 60.

66 Ross Enochs, *The Jesuit Mission to the Lakota Sioux* (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1996), 62.

67 Katharine Drexel was one of three daughters of the wealthy Drexel banking family of Philadelphia, all of whom devoted their inherited fortunes to Catholic philanthropy focused on Native Americans and African-Americans. In 1891, she founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People (now called Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament) and was canonized as a Roman Catholic saint in 2000. Even before entering the convent, she had given funds to establish the Lakota Catholic missions and numerous other missions across the United States. See Mary J. Oates, "The Role of Laywomen in American Catholic Philanthropy, 1820–1920," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9.3 (1990): 249–60; and Anne M. Butler, "Mother Katharine Drexel: Spiritual Visionary for the West," in Glenda Riley and Richard Etulain, eds., *By Grit and Grace: Eleven Women Who Shaped the American West* (Golden: Fulcrum, 1997), 198–220.

68 Reverend John S. Woods, "27th Annual Sioux Congress, St. Francis Mission, South Dakota," *The Indian Sentinel* 4 (1924): 148. A popular inflation calculator online indicates that $300 in 1924 would be worth $4,000 today. http://www.davemanuel.com/inflation-calculator.php.

69 Sister Mary Damian to Mother Katharine Drexel, *Annals of the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament*, July 18, 1924, 59–62. We are grateful to Dr. Stephanie Morris, director of archives, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, for supplying this reference. She informs us that the dress went missing the year after it was received at the Motherhouse in Pennsylvania. Stephanie Morris, email correspondence with Janet Catherine Berlo, October 18, 2012.

70 Enochs, *The Jesuit Mission to the Lakota Sioux*, 68–70.

71 As quoted in ibid, 119. For a discussion of ceremonial attire during feast days, see ibid., 118–19.

72 Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79.3 (1973): 589–603; and Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Shocken Books, 1976).

73 The visual archive of these performances is enormous and shows the wealth of beadwork, clothing, and other regalia made for and used at these events. See, for example, Eric Breitbart, *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); and Simon Ortiz, ed., *Beyond the Reach of Time and Change: Native American Reflections on the Frank A. Rinehart Photograph Collection* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

74 RootsWeb, Ancestry.com, "Jumping Eagle Family—Nellie Jumping Eagle": http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mikestevens/2010-p/p175.htm#i417.

75 For color photographs of the type of dress that Nellie Jumping Eagle wears, see Janet Catherine Berlo, "Creativity and Cosmopolitanism: Women's Enduring Traditions," in Emil Her Many Horses, ed., *Identity by Design: Tradition, Change, and Celebration in Native Women's Dresses* (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2007), 116–17.

76 Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): 383.

77 For insightful glimpses of Lakota life on the reservation in the early to mid-twentieth century, see Jeanne Smith, *Teaching on the Reservation: Reflections on the Period Between the Wars* (Kyle: Oglala Community College, 1985).

78 For more on the life and work of Amiotte, see Janet Catherine Berlo, *Arthur Amiotte: Collages 1988–2006* (Santa Fe: The Wheelwright Museum, 2006), reprinted in Arthur Amiotte, Louis Warren, and Janet Catherine Berlo, *Transformation and Continuity in Lakota Culture: The Collages of Arthur Amiotte, 1988–2014* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2014), 42–64. Berlo amassed numerous files about Amiotte and his ancestors over the decades of their friendship, as well as in preparation for the 2006 catalogue. In June 2011 in Custer, South Dakota, Amiotte and Berlo recorded on paper many of his family stories spanning four generations, from Standing Bear to the present. The stories in this section are drawn primarily from that meeting.

79 Much of the biographical information on Her Many Horses was obtained via a telephone interview with Janet Catherine Berlo on November 26, 2014, as well as during other informal conversations over several years.

80 Her Many Horses notes that he uses these designs only for gifts he makes for his own family members, not for items he makes for sale.

81 For more on Standing Bear and Louise, see Louis Warren, "Prelude: The Life of Standing Bear," in Amiotte, Warren, and Berlo, *Transformation and Continuity in Lakota Culture*, 2–8; and Amiotte, "A Journey of Discovery: Standing Bear's Art Work," in ibid., 9–23.

82 Josephine Richards Pourier was the half-Lakota wife of Baptiste "Big Bat" Pourier, a Western frontiersman of French-Canadian heritage. They lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the last decades of their lives.

83 Although the outfit's details are not easily discerned, it is the same one Standing Bear wears in figure 3-13. Far more detail is shown in another photo as well as a watercolor Amiotte made based on it, both of which are reproduced in Amiotte, Warren, and Berlo, *Transformation and Continuity in Lakota Culture*, 36.

84 Other heirlooms from Amiotte's family are in the Plains Indian Museum in Cody, Wyoming, including a full-size replica on display of the log cabin belonging to Standing Bear and Louise, the installation of which was supervised by Amiotte.

Cat. 13. *Spoon*, Lakota (Sioux), 20th century. Buffalo horn and porcupine quills, 3 x 10 3/4 in. (7.6 x 27.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 51:2012

Quillwork

Quillwork:
An Art of Inspiration, Industry, and Generosity

The first Native woman who looked at a prickly porcupine and saw materials for making art was a visionary indeed. Lakota (Sioux) people say that quillwork is a gift from the supernatural Double Woman, who, in ancient times, appeared to a woman in a dream and taught her how to use porcupine quills for artistry. This woman was, in turn, instructed to teach this art to others, for generosity and cooperation are key values in Plains cultures, and dream revelations are held to be particularly sacred. An Apsáalooke (Crow) story describes a woman whose fiancé declared that he would marry her only if she were powerful, unreasonably demanding that she tan a buffalo hide and embellish it with quillwork all in a single day. As she pondered this dilemma, animal helpers appeared and got to work: female beavers and badgers staked the hide while moles, mice, ants, and flies dried it and scraped it smooth. A porcupine offered its quills to the ants, who completed the quillwork. Such stories illustrate the centrality of cooperation when faced with an ambitious artistic task, as well as the nobility of women's creativity.[1]

Among many Plains tribes, quillwork was undertaken as a sacred endeavor within women's artistic guilds. George Bird Grinnell, who lived among the Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) in the 1890s, observed of quill- and beadwork, "This work women considered of high importance and, when properly performed, quite as creditable as were bravery and success in war among men."[2] In the meetings of the quillwork society, women described their previous fine works, "telling of the robes and other things that they had ornamented," Grinnell wrote. "This recital was formal in character, and among women closely paralleled the counting of coup by men."[3]

One large porcupine can yield more than thirty thousand quills with a wide range of sizes and lengths. These are plucked, washed, and sorted by size. When wet, a quill (made of material similar to fingernails) becomes pliable and can be flattened from its natural hollow tubular shape by being pulled repeatedly between the artist's teeth. Its pointed end can be easily inserted into a hole pierced into a hide by a steel-tipped awl. The natural elasticity of the hide causes the hole to close up as the drying quill stiffens and expands, securing it indefinitely. Women use embroidery stitches and techniques of wrapping, weaving, plaiting, and sewing to create intricate geometric and figurative motifs (cats. 13-15). Before manufactured thread became widely available, fine sinew threads from the backs of buffalo or deer served to stitch quills to the surface of a hide item. Indeed, for some artists today it is a point of pride to say that something is "sinew sewn." The artist might spot-stitch flattened quills to hide by folding them back and forth over two parallel rows of sinew thread, or

Cat. 14. *Cup*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1900. Metal, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, dyed horsehair, cotton cloth, feathers, and tin cones, 4 × 3 in. (10.2 × 7.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 89:2010

use quills of different colors to produce striped or diamond-shaped patterns. Quills can also be woven on a loom into narrow bands to be sewn onto a shirt, moccasin, or bag. Before trade goods became widely available, women used plant materials and minerals to produce red, orange, yellow, and black. Then they discovered that boiling pieces of trade cloth with the quills would color the quills blue, green, or red. In the mid-nineteenth century, the invention and rapid distribution of chemical dyes further expanded the color palette available to quillworkers, many of whom today use commercial dyes.

By the late nineteenth century, beads had become so ubiquitous that they threatened to supplant quillwork entirely, although many items were made that combined the two materials (cats. 16–18).

Opposite:
Cat.15. *Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1885. Leather, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, and tin cones, 10 × 7 1/2 in. (25.4 × 19.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 109:2010

Right:
Cat. 16. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and pigment, 6 1/2 x 36 1/2 in. (16.5 x 92.7 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Quillwork nearly died out by the mid-twentieth century, but the persistence of a few artists, such as Alice New Holy Blue Legs (1925–2003, Lakota), kept this work alive. She was awarded a National Heritage Fellowship in 1985 for her quillwork, and the New Holy family's quillwork was the subject of a documentary film that same year. Cheyenne River Sioux artist Jo Esther Parshall has made quilled clothes and horse regalia for many museums. Several contemporary doll makers, including Jamie Okuma (b. 1977, Luiseño/Shoshone-Bannock) and Joyce Growing Thunder Fogarty (b. 1950, Assiniboine/Sioux) make dolls wearing ethnographically exact nineteenth-century dress, including quillwork fashioned on an exceedingly small scale. Today, some men, including Lakota artist and scholar Emil Her Many Horses (b. 1950) are also expert at this ancient art.

– Janet Catherine Berlo

Notes

1 Janet Catherine Berlo, "Dreaming of Double Woman: The Ambivalent Role of the Female Artist in North American Indian Myth," *American Indian Quarterly* 17.1 (Winter 1993): 31–43.

2 George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1962), 159–61.

3 Ibid.

Opposite:
Cat. 17. *Toy Cradle*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, wool, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, feathers, and brass bells, 7 1/2 × 6 × 15 1/2 in. (19.1 × 15.2 × 39.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 67:2010

Below:
Cat. 18. *Pair of Miniature Tipi Bags*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 2 × 1 3/4 in. (5.1 × 4.4 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 62:2012a,b

Pipe Bag, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890.
Front and back. See cat. 28

Pipe Bags

Cheyenne Pipe Bags

Photographs of Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) men from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently reveal them to be carrying elaborately beaded pipe bags (fig. 5-1). At the most simple level, a pipe bag allowed a man to store his pipe, tobacco, and tamper in a single secure location. However, at a more abstract level, the pipe bag served as the repository for a powerful instrument that was employed in regulating human social interactions and communicating with spiritual forces.

In nineteenth-century Cheyenne society, the act of smoking a pipe served a variety of social functions. Pipes reserved for use in religious or diplomatic contexts, known as *hi'ogoma'hi'o*, feature T-shaped bowls carved from red pipestone and unadorned stems. Their simplicity is intended to reflect their owner's humility and sincerity. The act of pipe smoking was also part of the ritual associated with making a vow or a pledge. By smoking a pipe, a man committed himself to a specific course of action. For example, a man who wished to join a war expedition would signal his intent by smoking a pipe. Having done so, he was obligated to accompany the expedition. Pipes also functioned as symbols of authority, as in the case of the pipes carried by the leaders of war expeditions, and they played a role in conflict resolution as well. The aggrieved party in a dispute would signal his willingness to lay the matter to rest by smoking a pipe. In addition, pipes played an important role in Cheyenne diplomacy. Finally, the pipe has always been integral to the most sacred Cheyenne religious observances, including the rites associated with the Sacred Arrows, the Sacred Hat, and the Sun Dance.

A Cheyenne man's pipe and pipe bag signaled his status as a mature member of Cheyenne society, fully capable of pledging his word and participating in the religious life of the tribe. It was likely

Fig. 5-1. Group of Cheyenne Councilmen posed with pipes and pipe bags, 1900. Glass plate negative, original print. Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Shuck 46

Cat. 19. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, glass tubular beads, and porcupine quills. Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 20. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 4 × 18 in. (10.1 × 45.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 73:2013

Fig. 5-2. Buffalo Meat, Cheyenne, 1847–1917. *Self-portrait*, 1878–79. Ink on lined paper, 6 1/2 x 4 3/8 in. Oklahoma Historical Society, OHS #3956.1

this status that the Cheyenne warrior Buffalo Meat sought to convey in a self-portrait drawn in 1878–79 (fig. 5-2).[1] The artist made a point of depicting himself holding both a pipe and a beaded pipe bag.

Gender complementarity was an important concept in Cheyenne society, and this principle governed the creation of pipes and pipe bags. While men crafted ceremonial pipes, women created the elaborately embellished pipe bags to store these sacred instruments. Recalling his first pipe, the Northern Cheyenne warrior Wooden Leg noted that his father had made the pipe and his mother had beaded the accompanying pipe bag.[2]

Although each of the Cheyenne pipe bags in the Danforth Collection is a unique work of art, as a group they share certain features, a commonality that speaks to the existence of a Cheyenne aesthetic that guided the work of the women who created these pipe bags. For example, the bottom of each pipe bag is decorated with a panel of beadwork executed in horizontal row stitch. Each bag is also adorned with two vertical strips of beadwork that extend up the sides, covering the bag's seams. All but one pipe bag feature four bifurcated tabs.

Four of the Cheyenne pipe bags in the Danforth Collection display what is sometimes referred to as the "bar" or "stripe" pattern (cats. 19–22). The design consists of a central element featuring alternating bands of color, which is often flanked on each side by alternating black and white stripes. On some examples, red, dark blue, or green stripes replace the black stripes. Single lanes of beadwork featuring triangular mountain designs frequently appear above and below this panel. These designs represent Bear Butte, a mountain that the Cheyenne hold sacred. The stripe or bar design is also found on other Cheyenne objects, including women's leggings and certain tipi ornaments. It is possible that the stripes represent coup marks and refer to a man's martial achievements, which is an established convention within Cheyenne art. Black stripes painted on a man's leggings stood for the number of enemies he had slain. Similarly, the Cheyenne chief Sleeping Bear possessed a painted tipi that featured yellow stripes believed to represent the number of successful war expeditions that he had led.[3]

Hide fringe hangs from the bottom of each of the pipe bags in the Danforth Collection. The fringe on Cheyenne pipe bags often displays decorative treatments. For example, the fringes on one of the

Cat. 21. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 4 1/2 × 18 in. (11.4 × 45.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 79:2013

Cat. 22. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 5 × 21 in. (12.7 × 53.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 43:2013

pipe bags referenced above (cat. 22) have been twisted to give them a cord-like appearance. It bears mention that Cheyenne women sometimes wrapped the top portion of the fringes with porcupine quills, although none of the examples from the Danforth Collection exhibit this treatment. Cheyenne women also utilized bird quills, cattail fibers, cornhusks, and certain grasses in lieu of porcupine quills.

Cheyenne pipe bags were frequently painted with yellow ocher, which was also used to decorate hide clothing, including men's shirts and leggings and women's dresses. Several of the Cheyenne pipe bags in the Danforth Collection exhibit this treatment, a technique that was not unique to the Cheyenne. The use of earth paints, especially yellow ocher, to decorate hide garments was a common practice on the Southern Plains. For the Cheyenne, though, the color yellow holds special significance. Yellow is one of the four sacred colors, each of which is associated with a sacred direction and with the *Maheyuno*, or Sacred Person, who inhabits that direction. Yellow is the color of *Onxsovon*, the guardian of the Northwest. According to Peter Powell, "Onxsovon's color is most prized by the Cheyennes, because it represents perfection, ripeness, [and] beauty."[4] Yellow also represents the sun, and wearing yellow-painted clothing was viewed as a way of securing the sun's blessings. These symbolic associations likely underlie the use of yellow ocher on Cheyenne pipe bags.

– Michael Jordan and Gordon Yellowman

Notes

1 Buffalo Meat was one of thirty-three Cheyenne detained by the U.S. military following the end of the Red River War. He and his fellow prisoners were incarcerated at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, from 1875 to 1878. Phillip Earenfight, "From the Plains to the Coast," in Earenfight, ed., *A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 17, 23; and Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 228. For more on Fort Marion, see Brad Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian Prisoners of War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006). Additional examples of Cheyenne drawings produced at Fort Marion can be found in Joyce Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1998).

2 Thomas B. Marquis, *Wooden Leg: A Warrior Who Fought Custer* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957), 80; Richard Conn, *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1982), 145.

3 John C. Ewers, *Murals in the Round: Painted Tipis of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 15.

4 Peter Powell, *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 436.

While this pipe bag (cat. 23) exhibits many of the classic attributes associated with Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) pipe bags, such as the four bifurcated tabs, long hide fringe, and the use of ocher to paint the entire bag yellow, a color that carries rich religious symbolism for the Cheyenne, its overall level of embellishment sets it apart from the other examples in the Danforth Collection.[1] The Cheyenne woman who beaded this pipe bag utilized the four sacred colors—red, white, yellow, and black/dark blue, each associated with one of the sacred directions and the Sacred Person who resides there—and these dominate the composition, while light blue, green, and Cheyenne pink beads are used much more sparingly.[2]

The row-stitch beaded panel at the bottom of the bag features the Cheyenne stripe, or bar design, here consisting of alternating lanes of blue and white beadwork that flank a central element comprised of alternating bands of yellow and red.[3] Bordering this central element are narrow segments, outlined in black/dark blue, that repeat the pattern of alternating colors using light blue and pink. Two vertical strips of beadwork, also executed in row stitch, run from the top of the beaded panel to the mouth of the bag, covering the seams. These strips, each of which is comprised of three lanes of beadwork, replicates the bar pattern in miniature, repeating the sequence of alternating colors.

The treatment of the tabs on this pipe bag set it apart from other Cheyenne pipe bags in the Danforth Collection, as well as from other documented examples.[4] Although edge beading on the tabs of Cheyenne pipe bags is common, the extensive beadwork on the surface of the tabs here is unusual.[5] The beaded diamonds in black/dark blue and white that appear on the body of the bag, possibly representing immature golden eagle feathers, are also uncommon: although similar diamond-shaped motifs sometimes appear on other Cheyenne pipe bags, they are typically found along the upper edges of the beaded panels.[6]

Cat. 23. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, and pigment, 39 1/2 × 5 1/4 in. (100.3 × 13.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 185:2011

This pipe bag reveals both continuity and innovation within an artistic tradition. In her use of yellow ocher, the four sacred colors, and the stripe design, the woman who created this bag honored both established artistic conventions and Cheyenne religious beliefs. At the same time, the decorative elements that make this pipe bag distinctive speak to her individual creativity.

– *Gordon Yellowman*

Notes

1 On Cheyenne pipe bags, see Ralph T. Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art* (Kansas City: Nelson Gallery Foundation, 1977), 187; and Richard Conn, *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1982), 145. On the significance of the color yellow, see Peter Powell, *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 436; and Peter J. Powell, "Beauty for New Life: An Introduction to Cheyenne and Lakota Sacred Art," in Evan Maurer, ed., *The Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1977), 35, 45.

2 Powell, "Beauty for New Life," 34–35; Powell, *Sweet Medicine*, 435–36; and Winfield Coleman, "The Cheyenne Women's Sewing Society," in Gene Ball and George P. Horse Capture, eds., *Plains Indian Design, Symbology, and Decoration* (Cody: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1980), 50–69, esp. 60.

3 The term "row stitch" is used by Southern Cheyenne beadworkers in lieu of the terms "lazy stitch" or "lane stitch." For discussion of the Cheyenne stripe, or bar, design, see Coleman, "Cheyenne Women's Sewing Society," 58; and Coe, *Sacred Circles*, 187.

4 A Northern Cheyenne pipe bag with heavily decorated tabs appears in David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 162.

5 Ibid., 163.

6 Coe, *Sacred Circles*, 187.

Blackfeet Pipe Bags

Pikuni (Blackfeet) pipe bags (cats. 24, 25, 37) are immediately recognizable. Vibrantly colored beads are tightly stitched in crisp, strong patterning onto the lower area of the bag, using applique stitch to create a clean, flat surface. Small lines of beads gracefully move up to the top of the bag, and four delicate tabs are further adorned with small rows of beads. Sometimes two hide ties that close the piece have exuberant beaded tassels. An additional design element typically appears at the bottom of the main panel that connects the panel to the bottom fringe. Single beads are stitched to separate rows of added decoration, including twisted brass wire whimsically wrapped around the bottom fringe.

– *Jill Ahlberg Yohe*

Cat. 24. *Pipe Bag*, Pikuni (Blackfeet), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and brass wire, 5 3/8 x 33 in. (13 x 83.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 48:2012

Cat. 25. *Pipe Bag*, Pikuni (Blackfeet), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, brass beads, brass wire, and pigment, 41 1/2 × 7 in. (105.4 × 17.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 180:2011

Lakota Pipe Bags

For the Lakota (Sioux), pipe bags are "containers for the heart," used to hold the sacred pipes and tobacco that symbolically contain the very heart of the people.[1] Pipes are spiritually and socially central to Native peoples across the Great Plains, believed to unite the sacred and physical worlds; pipe smoking is seen as drawing the universe together to activate prayers, thoughts, and blessings. Pipe bags are imbued with the power of the materials they hold and are thus treated with reverence as sacred objects. Their significance dictates that pipe bags be held in the left hand, close to the heart, rather than be tied to the body, and they should be stored in a place of honor. Their decoration reflects distinctive cultural artistic traditions, and each side of the pipe bag may feature an entirely different design.

In addition to tobacco, a tamper, pipe bowl, and stem, pipe bags might also contain sage, sweet grass, cedar, and red willow. Both men and women would often possess a variety of pipes and pipe bags, simple and ornate. Simpler pipe bags would carry tobacco used for social occasions. The elaborately beaded bags in the Danforth Collection would largely be used to carry the sacred pipe dedicated to ceremonial use and important diplomatic events. Pipe bags are largely private, personal items, only brought out into public during ceremonies, such as naming ceremonies and the Sun Dance.

Lakota pipe bags include features specific to their culture. They are constructed from soft hides of deer and elk, although buffalo hide may also be used. Hide fringe adorns the bottom of the bag. The earliest known pipe bags would be shaped with tabs at the end, similar in style of construction to catalogue 26 here or perhaps more elaborately presented, as in catalogue 27, a shape that mimics the legs of an animal. Pipe bags made prior to the Reservation Era were first adorned with dyed porcupine quills and later with glass beads. During the Reservation Era, design panels expanded, becoming more extravagantly beaded with increasingly complex designs (cats. 28–30). Lanes of beadwork extended up one or both sides, and an additional panel, often intricately quilled, extended from the bottom of the bag. Lakota women could make each side a different design, sometimes beading the entire surface of the bag (cat. 31) or adding such elements as feathers and tinklers for further embellishment. In addition to geometric designs, artists might add symbolic elements, such as quilled horse-track designs and pipes (cat. 35).

It is one of the most proud contributions within Plains Native communities to carry a pipe. Lakota women create unique pipe bags with the individual owner in mind, and with the knowledge of the honor and privilege to own and carry the pipe.

– Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Note

1 Among the resources consulted in preparation of this text were: Ella Cara Deloria, "Dakota Terms for Museum Objects," 1960 (unpublished manuscript commissioned by the U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Sioux Indian Museum and Craft Center, Rapid City, SD) (the author is grateful for the assistance of Arthur Amiotte in obtaining this manuscript); Arni Brownstone, "Two Pipe Bags and a Beaded Jacket," in P. Hovens and B. Bernstein, eds., *North American Indian Art: Masterpieces and Museum Collections from The Netherlands* (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology; Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers, 2015); and personal communication with Jim ThunderHawk and Arthur Amiotte.

Cat. 26. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota/Dakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 7 3/4 × 21 in. (19.7 × 53.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 84:2013

Cat. 27. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 4 x 18 1/2 in. (10.2 x 47 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 28. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, and tin cones, length: 40 in. (101.6 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 29. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 35 1/4 x 8 in. (89.5 x 20.3 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 30. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 7 × 33 in. (17.8 × 83.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 41:2013

Cat. 31. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, and porcupine quills, 7 1/2 × 42 in. (19 × 106.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 70:2012

Cat. 32. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 38 x 5 3/8 in. (96.5 x 13.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 99:2015

Cat. 33. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, brass beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and dyed feathers, 33 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (85.1 x 19.1 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 34. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills. Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 35. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1900. Tanned hide, porcupine quills, and glass seed beads, 38 × 8 1/2 in. (96.5 × 21.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 81:2010

Cat. 36. *Pipe Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills, 36 × 7 in. (91.4 × 17.8 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 37. *Pipe Bag*, Pikuni (Blackfeet), c. 1900. Front and back. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 7 × 22 1/2 in. (17.8 × 57.2 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 107:2015

Cat. 38. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 33 × 5 1/2 in. (83.8 × 14 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 76:2013

Cat. 39. *Pipe Bag*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) or Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 6 1/8 × 25 1/2 in. (15.5 × 64.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 69:2013

Cat. 40. *Pipe Bag*, Hidatsa, Namakiki (Mandan), or Sahnish (Arikara), c. 1890. Front and back. Tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, and pigment, 6 1/4 × 35 in. (15.9 × 88.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 87:2013

Pair of Tipi Bags, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. See cat. 54

Pouches, Tipi Bags, Parfleches, and Other Containers

Pouches of the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Arapaho

The many small beaded pouches in the Danforth Collection provide a window into the everyday life of Native men and women of the Great Plains. Because Native garments generally lacked pockets, these pouches were necessary to support a variety of ordinary daily tasks, such as storing items for grooming and adornment. Yet even as their function was utilitarian, these bags were often elaborately decorated.

Plains Indian women typically wore beaded pouches attached to their belts (fig. 6-1). While these cases are frequently referred to as "strike-a-light bags," "awl cases," and "whetstone cases" for their distinctive shapes, implying that they functioned exclusively as receptacles for such objects, this was not the case.[1] For example, in addition to storing sewing awls, the tapering, cylindrical containers frequently described as awl cases were used to store sticks for parting the hair and applying paint.[2] Whetstone cases were also used to hold small knives (see cat. 4).[3] The flat, rectangular or trapezoidal-shaped pouches commonly called "strike-a-light" bags (cat. 41), which were worn by men as well as women, typically attached to their bow cases (fig. 6-2), did serve to store the flint and steel used to make fire, but during the early Reservation Era these pouches also served as receptacles for other small items, including mirrors, matches, sewing supplies, money, and ration-tickets.[4] The latter were especially important: without a ration-ticket, a women could not requisition food to feed her family.[5]

One pouch, constructed of bison hide, exhibits an unusually shaped triangular flap (cat. 42). The beadwork—elongated triangles featuring rectangular elements at their bases—strongly suggests that it is Cheyenne, as does the bilateral symmetry of the design, in which two pairs of triangles are connected via a central bar, which appears on other Cheyenne objects.[6] The alternating horizontal bands of light blue and dark blue within the triangles recall the striped designs found on Cheyenne pipe bags and women's leggings.[7] The woman who beaded this bag also employed three of the four Cheyenne sacred colors: red, yellow, and white.[8]

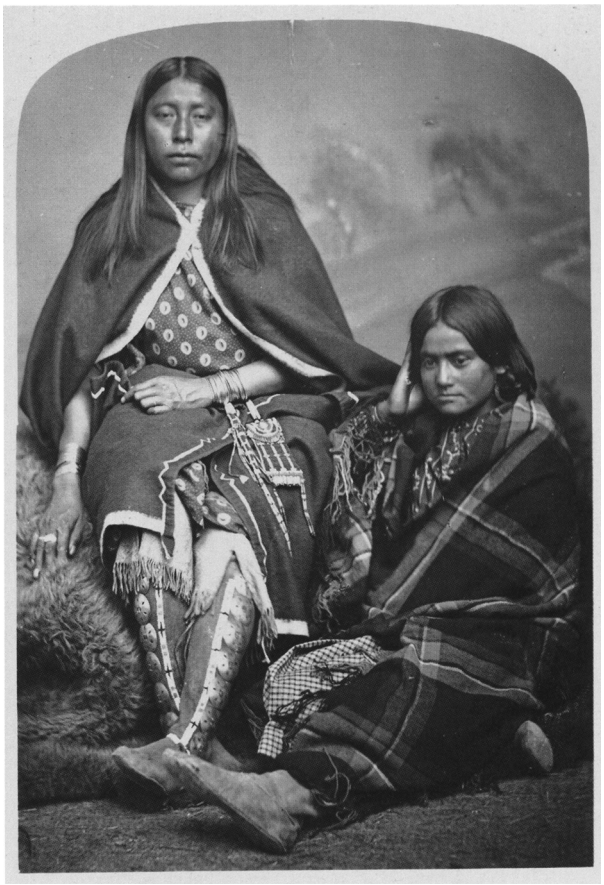


Fig. 6-1. Looking for Something Good (seated on robe) with unidentified woman, c. 1867–75. Photograph by William S. Soule. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 01626002

Cat. 41. *Pouch*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Leather, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 7 × 3 in. (17.8 × 7.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 77:2015

Fig. 6-2. Chief Ta-Her-Ye-Qua-Hip (Horse Back) in partial native dress, holding beaded pouches and animal-skin quiver with bow, c. 1867–75. Photograph by William S. Soule. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 01161300

Cat. 42. *Belt Pouch*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, brass beads, and tin cones, 5 1/4 × 8 in. (13.3 × 20.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 129:2015

The Danforth Collection also includes an excellent example of the type of bag utilized by Plains men (cat. 43). Though frequently termed a "dispatch case" in the literature, such bags were actually used to hold men's toiletries.[9] James Mooney, an ethnologist who conducted research among the Kiowa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, collected four such bags, and said they were intended to hold a stick for parting the hair, a mirror, paint, and jewelry. Mooney also noted that men stored the feathers that they wore during peyote meetings in such pouches. When not in use, the bags were hung inside the tipi to keep their contents out of harm's way.[10] Indeed, although Arapaho and Cheyenne women also made toiletry bags, this particular case shares a number of stylistic elements with documented Kiowa examples. It is constructed out of commercially tanned leather. The availability of commercially tanned leather, also known as "harness leather" or "boot leather," increased during the Reservation Era as Plains women salvaged worn-out boots and horse tack to create functional and aesthetically appealing objects.[11] The front of this case is decorated with wide rows of lane stitch along the sides and bottom, as well as along the perimeter of the flap. The side seams are covered with rolled-bead edging. The central beaded element, executed in overlay

stitch, resembles the abstract floral motifs frequently found in Kiowa beadwork from the early Reservation Era.[12] The back of the bag is decorated as well, which is also common among Kiowa pieces. A band of beadwork across the bottom features stepped mountain designs in blue, yellow, and white-core rose beads set against a pink background. Yellow-ocher-painted buckskin fringe adorns the bottom of the case. Metal tinklers, necklace beads, and small German silver conchos complete the decoration.

While many of these pouches in the Danforth Collection served everyday functions, some were put to more exceptional use. This beaded paint bag (cat. 44) was likely related to an individual's personal medicine or spiritual power. While some such bags have fringe along the bottom seam, others, such as this one, feature an elongated triangular flap. Paint bags held the powdered pigments that Native men and women applied to their faces and bodies for ritual events, including ceremonies and dances associated with the age-graded warrior societies or lodges. Tellingly, the interior of this bag is stained with red paint.[13]

– Michael Jordan

Cat. 43. *Dispatch Case*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1890. Leather, tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, horsehair, nickel-silver conchos, and pigment, 29 × 8 in. (73.3 × 20.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 39:2012

Cat. 44. *Paint Bag*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 2 1/8 × 13 in. (5.4 × 33 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 66:2013

Notes

1 Bill Mercer, *Lená Taku Wasté (These Good Things): Selections from the Elizabeth Cole Butler Collection of Native American Art* (Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1997), 106; Barbara A. Hail, *Hau, Kóla: The Plains Indian Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1980), 201; and Richard Conn, *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1982), 13.

2 Pieter Hovens, *The Ten Kate Collection 1882–1888: American Indian Material Culture* (Leiden: ZKF Publishers, 2010), 223; and Carl Jennings and Vanessa Paukeigope Jennings, "Kiowa Beadwork," *Gilcrease Journal* 3 (1995): 48.

3 Alfred Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 86–87.

4 For men's use of strike-a-light pouches, see Hovens, *Ten Kate Collection*, 223. For the use of these pouches during the Reservation Era, see Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 201; Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 88; Jennings and Jennings, "Kiowa Beadwork," 47–48; and Evan S. Maurer, *The Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1977), 179.

5 Jennings and Jennings, "Kiowa Beadwork," 49; and Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 93.

6 Richard Conn, *A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1986), 42; Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 147; and David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 160–61, 180–81.

7 Conn, *Persistent Vision*, 41; Penny, *Art of the American Indian Frontier*, 162–63; Ralph T. Coe, *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art* (Kansas City: Nelson Gallery Foundation, 1977), 187; Maurer, ed., *The Native American Heritage*, 168–69; and Mercer, *Lená Taku Wasté*, 93, 104.

8 Peter J. Powell, "Beauty for New Life: An Introduction to Cheyenne and Lakota Sacred Art," in Maurer, ed., *The Native American Heritage*, 34–35.

9 Thomas B. Marquis, *Wooden Leg: A Warrior Who Fought Custer* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957), 363; Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 94; and William L. Merrill, et al., *A Guide to the Kiowa Collections at the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 15.

10 Merrill, et al., *Guide to the Kiowa Collections*, 15.

11 Barbara A. Hail, "A House for the Beginning of Life," in Hail, ed., *Gifts of Pride and Love: Kiowa and Comanche Cradles* (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 28; Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 202; and Marquis, *Wooden Leg*, 267, 363.

12 Hail, "A House for the Beginning of Life," 27; and Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 145–46.

13 Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, 77, 199–200, 306–08.

Tools for Life

Kiowa women have always been at the heart of their homes. Besides the daily duties of harvesting, processing, and cooking food for their families, they were responsible for the very creation of the physical dwelling in which their families lived. Making a home involved skinning, tanning, and sewing heavy buffalo hides or, eventually, canvas into tipis, the portable structures that sheltered their families from the hot sun and kept them dry from freezing snow. Women adeptly turned deer into clothing for the entire family and turned the raw hides of buffalo and deer into beautiful containers that stored and protected medicine, food, and daily necessities, as well as family treasures.

Cat. 45. *Awl Case*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1880. Leather, glass seed beads, and metal beads, 14 3/4 × 1/4 × 3/4 in. (37.5 × 0.6 × 1.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 78:2010

The education of Kiowa girls on the daily skills necessary to care for their families once they became women began early and was conducted by mothers, aunts, and grandmothers alike.

The tools required for making this life were highly valued, and special bags and containers were made by women to protect them. Awls—hand tools made from a pointed piece of metal with a handle typically made from horn—were used on a daily basis to puncture holes in hide in order to sew and bead. Awl bags were sewn together and decorated with beads, fringe, and metal in specific styles using the customary Kiowa color palette of the time, often a dark red, bright green, or white background with bold multicolored geometric shapes. Beaded tool sets, including an awl, knife, and strike-a-light bag, were hung from Kiowa women's belts, usually on the right side of her body for easy access during daily chores. These tool belts were functional as well as meticulously crafted and decorated. The beauty of these utilitarian objects reveals not only pride of ownership but also how much value was placed on women's work.

These two awl bags (cats. 45, 46) have lids that slide up the buckskin string that is used to tie the bag to a woman's belt. Both have decorated fringe that make the bag hang immediately above the wearer's knee. The red awl bag uses a classic Kiowa color combination: a red background bead with white and blue stripes at an angle across the front and back. The white/multicolored awl bag has an unusual checkered top. As with many historical Native objects found in museums and collections, it is difficult without knowledge of who the maker was or even what family this piece came from to tell if the checkered design was simply the artist's choice or a melding of Southern Plains tribal styles. Both bags are beaded using a wraparound beading technique with attention to detail: fringe is beaded along the edges of one, while long metal tubes, cut and formed by hand, are delicately added to the fringe on the lid and bottom of the other.

Awl bags, along with knife sheaths and strike-a-light bags, remain an important part of the ceremonial dress of Kiowa women today. Although many contemporary pieces no longer contain awls or knives, and often strike-a-light bags are literally sewn shut, modern Kiowa women continue to wear them in symbolic reference and in deference to the women who came before them and in homage to the homes they created for their families.

– *Teri Greeves*

Cat. 46. *Awl Case*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 13 3/4 × 1 3/4 × 1 (34.9 × 4.4 × 1.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 50:2013

Tipi Bags

The nomadic lifestyle of Plains Indians meant that objects had to be portable and functional, yet Native people, most often women, also invested these items with great beauty. The form for such embellishments was deeply rooted in tradition, with strict protocols governing family and tribal designs, while at the same time Native women exercised careful creativity when decorating objects. Tipi bags were among a household's most practical items, soft containers of varying sizes constructed from Native-tanned hide and usually decorated with porcupine quills, glass beads, or a combination of both. A translation of the Lakota for such an item is "a bag for every possible thing." Although this aptly characterizes their use to store and transport a wide range of personal items such as clothes, regalia, and moccasins, it also seems to imply a sense of haphazard organization that contradicts Native custom. Rather, the designation "tipi bag" is more neutral, both in terms of tribal designation and in characterizing these containers that were intended to hold many of the possessions found inside the traditional Native dwelling. During transport, tipi bags could be tied to each side of a saddle or stacked on a travois, along with a saddle bag, a significantly larger bag constructed of two elongated pieces of Native-tanned hide sewn together, with one section on the longest end left open. The saddle bag would then be filled and laid across the body of a horse, the bag's fringe swaying with the horse's movement.

Cat. 47. *Tipi Bag*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 13 × 20 × 5 1/4 in. (33 × 50.8 × 13.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 47:2012

Cat. 48. *Tipi Bag*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair, 16 × 24 × 5 in. (40.6 × 61 × 12.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 46:2012

Aside from fully beaded cradles and cradle covers, few works from the Plains have as wide an area for decoration as tipi bags do, and the embellished bags were proudly displayed within the dwelling when not in use. Women usually decorated the large front area of the bag with geometric patterning; on rare occasions, they employed pictographic imagery. Although the basic compositions of the designs are similar, distinct differences exist among tribal styles.

Tipi bags were always made in matching pairs, but over time, these often became separated from one another. The Danforth Collection contains six examples of single bags (cats. 47–52), as well as three sets of matching bags (cats. 53–55). Many of the tipi bags featured here were decorated with glass beads using a technique sometimes erroneously referred to as "lazy stitch" but more accurately called "lane stitch," as the beads form lanes once they are sewn to the hide. The colorful beaded pair of Lakota tipi bags (cat. 53) provide a particularly fine example of the artistic ability of Native women. Taking full advantage of the lane beadwork technique, the artist cleverly incorporated two sets of designs—a double triangle and diamond shape—within a large triangle. The creative use of color makes it challenging to focus on the different geometric patterning, but the two designs in the center of each bag provide visual stability within the complex design, holding the viewer's eyes.

Cat. 49. *Tipi Bag*, Lakota (Sioux) or possibly Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1875. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, sinew, and dyed horsehair, 10 × 18 × 2 1/2 in. (30.5 × 53.3 × 12.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 45:2012

Cat. 50. *Tipi Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, sinew, and dyed horsehair, 12 × 20 × 5 in. (30.5 × 50.8 × 12.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 164:2011

Cat. 51. *Tipi Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1885. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, sinew, and dyed horsehair, 14 × 22 × 3 1/2 in. (35.6 × 55.9 × 8.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 166:2011

Cat. 52. *Tipi Bag*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned cowhide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew, 11 1/2 × 22 × 5 in. (29.2 × 55.9 × 12.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 79:2015

Cat. 53. *Pair of Tipi Bags*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Leather, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew, left: 10 1/2 × 15 × 3 1/2 in. (26.7 × 38.1 × 8.9 cm); right: 9 1/2 × 15 × 3 in. (24.1 × 38.1 × 7.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 87:2010a,b

Cat. 54. *Pair of Tipi Bags*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Leather, glass seed beads, tubular beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew, 6 1/2 × 10 × 1 1/2 in. (16.5 × 25.4 × 3.8 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 64:2010.1,2

Cat. 55. *Pair of Tipi Bags*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and wool yarn, 14 × 12 1/2 × 1 7/8 in. (35.6 × 31.8 × 2.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 112:2015a,b

Another pair of tipi bags in the collection are distinct not only for their shape, which is taller and thinner than usual, but also because they feature porcupine quillwork (cat. 55). Decorating objects with porcupine quillwork is challenging and painstaking, and uneven lines on this pair of quilled tipi bags suggests they were perhaps created by an artist who was still working to master the craft. Most quilled bags were decorated with horizontal rows, to take advantage of the negative space.

The tipi bags in the Danforth Collection amply showcase the Native custom of embellishing functional items. The challenge when discussing design elements, however, is interpreting their meanings, if any. A common misconception is that all design elements have special sacred meanings. Although many designs may, in fact, be symbolic, assuming all designs are imbued with symbolism disregards the artist's creative process.

– Joe D. Horse Capture

Left:
Cat. 56. *Parfleche*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c.1890. Rawhide and pigment, 6 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (16.5 x 24.8 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Above:
Fig. 6-3. Horned toad drawing, from Crow bilingual education book. Image courtesy of Timothy P. McCleary

Parfleches

Large containers vital to accommodate the nomadic lifestyle of Native peoples across the Great Plains and Northwest Plateau, parfleche bags are made from bison rawhide squares that are folded to create an envelope around the contents with two flaps on the top, and they are commonly decorated with painted designs.[1] Historically, parfleches were filled with food, such as jerky, pemmican, and patties made from dried berries and fruit, while others stored clothing, household items, and personal possessions.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Native women developed distinct regional and tribal styles of decorating parfleches. The Danforth Collection contains several examples of what is today known as the Transmontane parfleche (cats. 56–60), in reference to the style of bold geometric patterns consisting especially of triangles, diamonds, and hourglass shapes that originated in the Northwest Plateau. Strong trade relationships among Plateau tribes gave rise to this common aesthetic, particularly among the Apsáalooke (Crow) of Montana, the Numa (Shoshone) of Wyoming and Idaho, and the Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé) of Idaho and Washington, even as other Plateau groups, such as the Yakama and Cayuse, produced similar kinds of parfleches as well. The Apsáalooke say they learned how to make the designs from the triangular patterns found on the back of the horned toad (fig. 6-3).

From left:
Cat. 57. *Parfleche*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1880. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 10 1/4 × 6 × 1 1/4 in. (26 × 15.2 × 3.2 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 98:2013

Cat. 58. *Parfleche*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1890. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 12 × 26 1/2 × 3 in. (30.5 × 67.3 × 7.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 95:2013

Cat. 59. *Parfleche*, Western Plateau, c. 1880. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 27 1/2 × 14 × 3 3/4 in. (69.9 × 35.6 × 9.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 106:2010

Cat. 60. *Parfleche*, Transmontane or Western Plateau, c. 1880. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 28 1/4 × 15 1/2 × 4 1/2 in. (71.8 × 39.4 × 11.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 107:2010

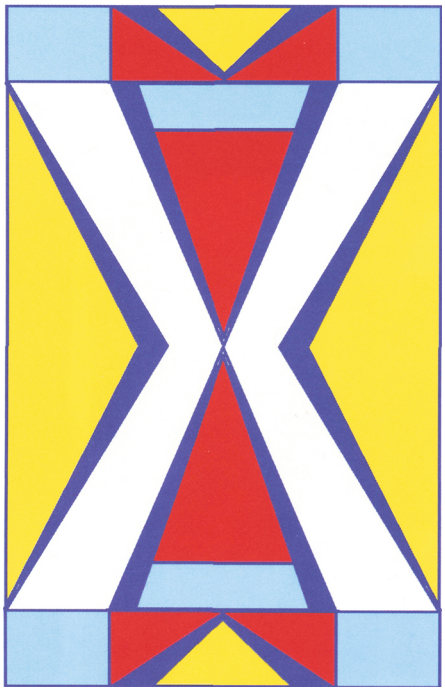


Fig. 6-4. Apsáalooke (Crow) parfleche design. Image courtesy of Timothy P. McCleary

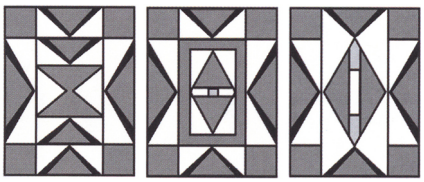


Fig. 6-5. Nine-block to three-part vertical conversion for Numa (Shoshone) parfleche design. Image courtesy of Timothy P. McCleary

The Transmontane parfleches in the Danforth Collection often exemplify the commonalities that underlie this aesthetic but also the distinctions among the three core tribes. Most painting on Apsáalooke parfleches was done in four basic colors: red, green, yellow, and blue (fig. 6-4). The majority of outlining, which was generally tapered, was done in dark blue (or, rarely, in a double outline of green rather than blue). In many ways, the large geometric shapes on the Nimi'ipuu parfleche in the collection (cat. 62) mirrors the Apsáalooke example, but the use of multiple colors to outline the central patterns—in this case, orange, green, and dark blue—reveals the bag's true origins.

Another Transmontane parfleche in the Danforth Collection displays its connection to the Numa (cat. 61). While Numa parfleche designs typically follow the so-called nine-block approach, in which the design field is broken into nine separate square areas, the bag here displays a variant called "three-part vertical," consisting of three vertical fields covering the entire area (fig. 6-5). The Numa origin of this parfleche is further revealed in the solid corner boxes, a motif found on pieces from other groups but most commonly used by Numa women. Through the appearance of light blue, almost turquoise, in the border, the bag's origins can perhaps be tied even more specifically to the Numa of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, with whom use of this color in a series of colors is often associated.

The sedentary lifestyle of the Reservation Era did not end the production and use of parfleches; indeed, women from all the tribes who made Transmontane parfleches continued to do so into the 1960s and '70s (fig. 6-6). Among the Apsáalooke, parfleches have continued the utilitarian purposes they historically served. The present generation of elders recalls not only assisting in the preparation of parfleches but even describe the manner in which the finished containers were displayed along the walls of their childhood homes, just as they had been in tipis. The Apsáalooke name for parfleche bags, *bishkisché* ("packed by dogs"), harks back to the pre-horse days, while the tribe's contemporary English reference—"rez suitcases"—reflects the bags' continued importance.

– Timothy P. McCleary

Note

1 For further discussion of parfleches, their significance and design, see Mable Morrow, *Indian Rawhide: A Folk Art* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975); and Gaylord Torrence, *The American Indian Parfleche: A Tradition of Abstract Painting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994). A number of Native people have contributed to the author's understanding of parfleches and how the Transmontane style developed, among whom are: June Greene, Clyde Hall, Luella (White Man Runs Him) Johnson, Winona Plenty Hoops, Dale Old Horn, Alma Snell, and Angela Swedberg.

Left:
Fig. 6-6. Apsáalooke (Crow) mother and daughters Lizze Yellowtail, Amy White Man Runs Him, and Agnes Deernose painting hides for parfleche, 1962. Photograph courtesy of Lonn Fritzler

Bottom, left:
Cat. 61. *Parfleche*, Numa (Shoshone), c. 1890. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 27 × 12 × 4 5/8 in. (68.6 × 30.5 × 11.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 108:2010

Bottom, right:
Cat. 62. *Parfleche*, Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé), c. 1890. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 27 × 13 × 3 1/2 in. (68.6 × 33 × 8.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 175:2011

Abstraction and Parfleche Painting

Native women were the first abstract painters of North America. While Native men on the Great Plains used their painting skills to create realistic visual representations, it was the women who abstracted their world. Men made winter counts or calendars on whole hides to commemorate historically important events, such as battles, hunts, the impacts of disease, and interactions with other tribes and the white man. They created realistic images on tipis, painted shields with images of medicine beings, and decorated their own robes with animal and human figures. Women, on the other hand, used the same mineral and pigment paints in a remarkably sophisticated and abstract way on utilitarian containers called parfleches. These abstract painting techniques eventually found their way into another medium that women mastered: beadwork.

In the late nineteenth century, a seismic shift in visual representation in both two- and three-dimensional art was occurring in Europe as abstraction emerged as a powerful force in the male-dominated art world. These avant-garde artists were steadily dismantling the tenets of realism, influenced both by the rise of industrialization as well as greater exposure to the objects made by the so-called primitive peoples of the world, which were being amassed in museum collections.

Cat. 63. *Parfleche*, Pikuni (Blackfeet), c. 1890. Rawhide, tanned hide, and pigment, 8 3/4 x 6 in. (22.2 x 15.2 cm). Danforth Family Collection

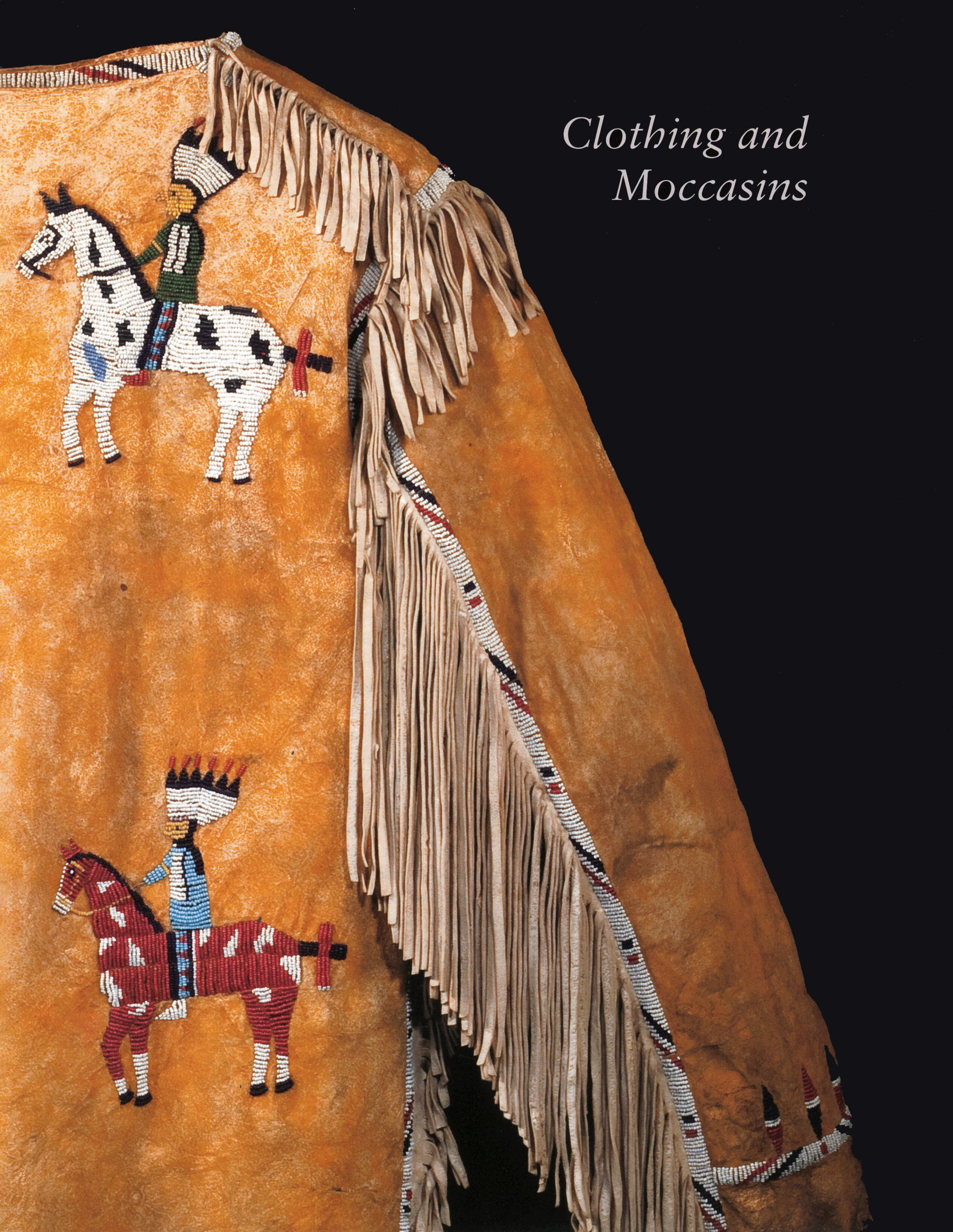
Cat. 64. *Parfleche*, Pikuni (Blackfeet), c. 1890. Rawhide, leather, and pigment, 28 × 16 × 5 in. (71.1 × 40.6 × 12.7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 105:2010

The idea that utilitarian items such as the parfleches used by Native peoples to carry food, medicine, and other necessities are somehow just simply "craft" objects with no higher artistic value is false. In calling the markings on these objects "designs," the sophistication of their aesthetic—the use of color and negative space, control of line, and technical adeptness—is discounted, a fallacy that points to the racial and gender biases of the white, largely male scholars who historically documented Native works for museums as trophies of a supposedly dying people.

Today, we continue to come to a fuller appreciation of parfleche painting as a significant form of Native women's art. These abstract paintings, in part, had a hand in revolutionizing Western attitudes toward abstraction. Through exposure to this "new" visual language, which had in fact been used for generations among the women of Native America long before Georgia O'Keeffe was born, Western art leaped into the modern world.

– Teri Greeves

Man's Jacket, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890.
Back. See cat. 70



Clothing and Moccasins

Fluid Distinctions: Southern Plains Clothing and Cross-Cultural Influence

The Danforth Collection contains a number of exceptional and intriguing garments, accessories, and accoutrements from the Southern Plains, each carrying what may appear to the casual viewer as a straightforward tribal designation. Yet to identify a dress as Inde (Apache) or a set of boots as Numinu (Comanche) is not so definitive as these labels suggest. Such clear-cut attribution was the goal of many scholars in the early twentieth century who studied Plains Indian material culture, work that was guided by contemporary theories of cultural evolution that promoted the identification of distinct tribal styles and the reconstruction of detailed, chronological sequences of diffusion based on presumed cultural areas and tribal territories.[1] For later researchers, this model would prove untenable, implying as it did fixed boundaries and rigid visual categories that obscure diversity, deny individuality, and ultimately ignore the process of becoming.

Such was the case for anthropologist John Ewers in the 1970s, whose research on the evolution of Southern Plains dresses from the 1700s through the 1940s provided a masterful reassessment of the understanding of Native American material culture through a focus on process and change. Central to Ewers discussion is a two-piece dress that he refers to as the "skirt and poncho" (fig. 7-1). Whereas anthropologist Clark Wissler, working more than a half century before, had defined this style of dress as pre-reservation Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), Ewers dramatically expanded its temporal and geographic distribution, using both historical documentation from early explorers as well as information from contemporary members of Native communities to demonstrate that the poncho-and-skirt style of dress was in fact a practical adaptation to warm southern climates made by a number of tribes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the Caddo, Comanche, Lipan Apache, and Tonkawa.[2]

Other scholars also began working on this expanded terrain. Barbara Hail, for example, identified a set of generalized characteristics for clothing items among Native Americans from the Northern, Central, and Southern Plains, all the while stressing that the individual approach of the maker of each piece prohibits any one item from meeting an idealized set of regional criteria. Hail describes such broad affinities as the use of painted decorations and slight amounts of beadwork on clothing from the Southern Plains and, likewise, sees as a hallmark of Southern Plains form the emergence of the boot or "leg moccasin," in which the half legging and moccasin, common to female attire on the Northern Plains, is combined into a single piece.[3] Like Hail, Candace Greene is also careful

Above: Fig. 7-2. Woonardy Parker, Daughter of Quanah Parker, in Native Dress With Ornaments, Near Tipi, 1892. Photograph by Hutchins and Lanney. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA GN 01775b

Opposite: Fig. 7-1. Chavi's wife (Kiowa Apache), from the American Indians' Photo Album, 1898. Photograph by Frank A. Rinehart. Courtesy of the Omaha Public Library, TMI02172

to avoid the term "style" in her discussion of the development of regional and tribal preferences in the nineteenth century for certain designs and techniques. She does, however, acknowledge a "form" of clothing unique to the Southern Plains that includes some of the attributes identified previously by Hail, such as beadwork that is generally confined to narrow lanes of geometric designs executed in a limited color palette, painted designs on finely tanned hides, and abundant use of finely cut fringe often embellished with hand-formed tin cones (fig. 7-2).[4]

This Southern Plains aesthetic is exemplified by a number of objects in the Danforth Collection, from those that exhibit large expanses of finely tanned leather, narrow strips of beadwork, and elegant forms of protective edge-beading to the many pieces colored with mineral pigments in yellow, green, and red, as well as with commercial powder paints. Long leather fringe is a major decorative element that is also produced through varied techniques. Prominent among these is the method used in the construction of the Kiowa tab leggings (fig. 7-3) in which each piece of fringe is fashioned through a technique that twists a split leather strip to create a strand of "rolled" fringe that is then attached to the leggings one piece at a time. The fact that Southern Plains clothing typically possesses a luxurious quality gained from the extreme care in the preparation and tanning of the hide and the tremendous precision cutting is amply displayed in the Apache dress set (see cat. 65), which itself exhibits many of the other common attributes of the Southern Plains aesthetic.

Throughout the mid- to late nineteenth century, the forced relocation of more than sixty Native American groups to Indian Territory (the modern state of Oklahoma) created a unique cultural environment in North America. The linguistic, religious, and artistic diversity represented among these groups coalesced into a set of artistic qualities, preferences, and forms that is commonly referred to as "Oklahoma style." The advent and spread of intertribal religious and social movements, including the Grass Dance, Ghost Dance, Peyote Religion (also called the Native American Church), and powwows provided additional opportunities for intercultural interaction and exchange in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In some instances, tribal distinctions were diminished only to resurface and gain expression as new genres and forms emerged.

Fig. 7-3. Six Toes (Kiowa), 1898. Photograph by Frank A. Rinehart. Courtesy of the Omaha Public Library, TMI00579

A prime example of the melding effect at the heart of Oklahoma style is the almost universal adoption of beaded hard-soled moccasins that originated with the Cheyenne by the majority of male powwow dancers, regardless of tribal affiliation and dance style. The front-seam tab leggings most commonly associated with the Kiowa and other Southern Plains tribes can also be found today throughout North America, often adopted as a component of the regalia of the modern Straight Dance style, itself an amalgamation of several tribal traditions.

Changing value systems in Native American communities, by which certain materials became more desirable or less, further complicates efforts to isolate distinct types of tribal clothing, as Ewers demonstrates as well. In the early nineteenth century, trade cloth began to replace hides as the preferred material for dresses on the Southern Plains, reflecting the increased status associated with trade goods during this period. The wives and daughters of prominent men among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Wichita, and Apache all sought dresses made from the finest wool cloth in bright red and navy blue. Ewers notes that cloth, particularly cotton calico and striped ticking, became a regular item in the distribution of federal annuities to Native Americans in the 1860s and '70s. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, attention on the Southern Plains returned to the traditional leather dress, despite the increasing difficulty associated with obtaining the hides of deer, antelope, mountain goat, and other species preferred for the construction of clothing. This movement brought the hide dress back into vogue, albeit in a distinctly new style that became common among all Southern Plains tribes by the 1890s.[5]

In this new style, referred to as a "three-hide dress," one hide forms the yoke and two are used for the bodice and skirt, with the upper portion attached to the skirt. The midriff seam and bodice are decorated variously with lanes of beadwork, rows of elk teeth, and long fringe. The three-hide dress has remained a standard form of female attire on the Southern Plains for ceremonial and social gatherings such as powwows for more than a century, with elements of tribal preference and form emerging in the twentieth century.[6]

Thus, as a variety of sources make clear, including museum collections, field photographs, Native drawings, explorers' journals, and ethnographic accounts, a range of clothing styles and forms coexisted on the Southern Plains in the last half of the nineteenth century. The skirt-and-poncho, trade-cloth, and three-hide dresses were all present to some degree by the 1850s and '60s, and a similar diversity is evident for moccasins, leggings, shirts, and other items of clothing and accessories. This dynamic process of intercultural influence and evolution continues today, one that I have witnessed among female dancers at social and ceremonial gatherings in Oklahoma. The classic look of the three-piece dress can be achieved through a variety of means, including the continued use of a separate skirt and unattached yoke. In many instances, the skirt is held in place by a cotton bodice attached to the top of the skirt and secured with a sash or belt. Another strategy employs a cotton t-shirt sewn to the top of the skirt. The long tabs at the bottom of the yoke and thinly cut sleeve fringe create the look of a classic three-hide dress.

It is clear that a preoccupation with discrete tribal types is inconsistent with the reality documented in Native communities both past and present on the Southern Plains. Assigning a simple tribal affiliation to an item of clothing in a museum collection is difficult, commonly contested, and often derived from subtle nuances that are highly variable and often based on a limited set of examples. While the objects in the Danforth Collection all have tribal designations, many present ambiguous sets of attributes and stimulated lively debate among the authors, consultants, and community members engaged in the research for this catalogue. It is in this context that the Danforth Collection holds its greatest value and promise.

– Dan Swan

Notes

1 A pertinent example can be found in Clark Wissler, "Costumes of the Plains Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 17, part 2 (1915): 67–80.

2 Wissler, "Costumes of the Plains Indians," 79, 85. John C. Ewers, "Climate, Acculturation, and Costume: A History of Women's Clothing among the Indians of the Southern Plains," *Plains Anthropologist* 25 (1977): 63–82.

3 Barbara A. Hail, *Hau, Kóla!: The Plains Indian Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), 68, 93, 122, 132.

4 Candace Greene, "Art Until 1900," in Raymond DeMallie, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Plains* 13.2 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 1047.

5 Ewers, "Climate, Acculturation, and Costume," 77–79.

6 For more, see Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, *Southern Plains Indian Buckskin Dresses: An Exhibition* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1988). For other contemporary examples of the three-hide dress, see Emil Her Many Horses, ed., *Identity by Design* (Washington DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2007), 54–58, 90–92.

Southern Plains Dress

A classic example of a Southern Plains two-piece poncho-and-skirt ensemble (cat. 65), this form of dress has been well documented not only among the eastern and western Inde (Apache) but the Numinu (Comanche), Hinono'ei (Arapaho), Kiowa, and various Caddoan groups from the 1830s through the 1850s, and it continued to find use into the last decades of the nineteenth century. Donald Danforth Jr. collected this dress as "Apache," and its cut, form, and decorative detail readily support that attribution; more specifically, it conforms in many ways to the basic pattern seen in the puberty dresses of the western Apache still in use today. The prodigious use of tin cones as decorative elements also lends support for an Apache designation. Yet a significant number of characteristics suggest a possible Comanche attribution as well, including the oversized squared tabs at the bottom of the skirt and the design and colors used in the lane beadwork at the bottom of the poncho. Additional evidence that this may be Comanche is the use of pronghorn antelope hide. The Quahadi (Antelope) Band of the Comanche was a late-formed social group that retreated from the Red River Valley to the Texas Panhandle and eastern New Mexico. In the 1850s, this Comanche band was reported to favor pronghorn antelope skins for clothing while other Comanche bands relied upon deer hides.[1]

There are also three areas in which additional pieces of partially tanned hide with fixed hair were attached to the skirt and cape in strategic locations, with two placed to emulate the forelegs of the animal that formed the drops on the one-skin, poncho style of dress top. The third piece of hair-on hide is located at the center of the cape, a common practice in later periods to simulate the tail of the animal when one large hide was used to form the yoke on the three-hide dress. This dress may also be transitional, an intermediate between the classic poncho-and-skirt form and the three-hide dress that became the standard on the Southern Plains in the late nineteenth century. The scalloped pattern of fringe and tin cones at the bottom of the dress, the decorated and tabbed flap attached at the waist of the skirt, and the scalloped treatment at the base of the cape resemble the cuts and design features of Southern Plains dresses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] One scenario that is always possible with multiple-piece sets is that the constituent pieces may be of different provenance in terms of chronology, place, and maker. Discernable differences in the size, color, and quality of the beads used on the skirt and those on the poncho suggest a range of plausible interpretations. This is an aspect in the social life of objects that can be quite fleeting and nearly impossible to reconstruct.

– Dan Swan

Notes

1 Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 24.

2 For more, see Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, *Southern Plains Indian Buckskin Dresses: An Exhibition* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1988).

Cat. 65. *Dress*, Southern Plains Inde (Apache) or Numinu (Comanche), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones, top: 44 × 20 in. (111.8 × 50.8 cm); skirt: 42 × 28 in. (106.7 × 71.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 99:2010a,b

Southern Plains Boot Moccasins

Women of the Southern Plains combined leggings and moccasins into a form of high boot that has become a significant attribute of Southern Plains material culture, exemplified in the pair of Inde (Apache) boot moccasins here (cat. 66), a classic design that was used over a long period as well by the Kiowa and Numinu (Comanche; cat. 67). The modern-day Apache of Oklahoma are the descendants of an Apachean-speaking group known for its alliances with neighboring tribes, including the Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), Hinono'ei (Arapaho), Comanche, Mescalero, and, most recently, with the Kiowa.

Earlier examples of Southern Plains boots in museum collections suggest that the height of the legging portion has been reduced over time, with boots from the 1860s and '70s extending to the upper thigh. The Apache pair here adheres to the classic form with rawhide soles and native-tanned deer-hide uppers. Yellow dry pigment has been applied to the entire boot with the exception of the flap that has been colored with red pigment. The dominant decorative elements on the flap are a series of nickel-silver conchos. In their earliest form, such conchos were individual pieces taken from a set of hair plates, metal discs of decreasing size that were strung in sequence and worn down the back by men throughout the Plains. The large size of these hair plates soon transitioned to the use of smaller metal conchos, with later examples using one or more rows of smaller metal spots.[1] The color palette and designs of the narrow lane beadwork share a number of features with other Apache examples, including the predominant use of dark navy-colored beads that appear black on first inspection. The quality of these boots and the attention to detail are evident in the fancy edge-beading on the flap and the constrained beaded element that extends from the seam at the base of the legging out onto the vamp.

– Dan Swan

Note

1 Jim Cooley, "Southern Plains Women's Footwear," *Moccasin Tracks* 11 (1986): 5–6.

Left:
Cat. 66. *Boot Moccasins*, Southern Plains Inde (Apache), c. 1890. Leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, nickel-silver conchos, and pigment, 28 × 9 1/2 × 6 1/2 in. (71.1 × 24.1 × 16.5 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 111:2010a,b

Right:
Cat. 67. *Boot Moccasins*, Southern Plains or Numinu (Comanche), c. 1885. Tanned hide, leather, nickel-silver conchos, glass seed beads, and pigment, 16 × 4 × 8 1/2 in. (40.6 × 10.2 × 21.6 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 97:2010a,b

With Prayers and Love: Our Children's Clothing

Articles of children's clothing are some of the most profound objects in any collection of historical Native art. They represent not just objects to be studied or admired; they are often the clearest material evidence of a life lived, showing the wear of the young owner: sweat stains on the collar of a dress, worn edges around the cuff of a pair of leggings, marks left by a child kneeling in the dirt to play, splatter marks from something the child ate. These objects carry the very DNA of children who would grow up, marry, raise children of their own, and pass on to the afterworld of their people.

Like children all over the world, Kiowa children are valued and loved by their families. It is this love that would inspire a father, uncle, or grandfather to devote himself to hunting a deer or collecting mineral paint; a mother, aunt, or grandmother to spend hours tanning, sewing, and beading a dress or a pair of leggings for a child. Maybe a mother had been hanging on to a special hank of beads for years, waiting to turn it into something for her daughter. Perhaps a father, over years of hunting elk, had pulled and stored the eyeteeth of the animals in anticipation of the making of a dress for his baby girl not yet born. As hides are tanned for many purposes, the softest and finest are set aside, waiting for the day they can be cut and sewn into a beautiful pair of leggings to match the love felt for a young boy who is turning into a man.

This Kiowa girl's dress (cat. 68) is embellished with red mescal beans that were harvested and methodically drilled with an awl heated in a fire by a patient family member. It is decorated with a beaded medallion centered over the heart containing a Peyote-button design, an indication that this girl's family was probably part of the Native American Church. The elk teeth used to decorate the upper yoke are both real eyeteeth and carved bone in emulation of teeth. Perhaps by the time this dress was made, access to the hunting grounds of the wearer's father had been limited, and thus the family needed to "make due" with carved teeth. Three to four deer were killed and given offerings to be skinned and tanned to make this dress. It is obviously a well-used piece of clothing; looking at it, we can easily imagine a little girl running and playing, dancing and praying, the tin cones on the lower corners tinkling as she sweated in the hot sun of the Southern Plains.

Cat. 68. *Girl's Dress*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, animal bone, mescal beans, wool cloth, tin cones, nickel-silver button, and pigment, 29 1/2 × 24 in. (74.9 × 61 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 184:2011

These Kiowa leggings (cat. 69) are fitted for a young boy about to become a man. His family collected enough natural yellow ocher paint to cover the entire surface, and they had the technical skills to create an even golden surface probably much like the leggings his father, uncles, and grandfathers wore. As these leggings show, Kiowa embellishment is known for its minimal use of beadwork. Artists and clothing makers relied upon paint and masterful hide construction to create a distinct Kiowa "look." The double-hanging tabs and copious use of thinly cut fringe attached individually to the sides, the narrow and fitted cut of the pant legs, and the use of the raw edge of the deer hide along the cuff are all purposeful parts of the decoration; the makers of these leggings followed a time-honored pattern for what a proper young Kiowa boy should wear. The leggings' size indicates that this young boy was on his way to manhood, somewhere in the in-between, still playing at hunting rabbits but soon ready to bring food to his own home.

All good parents can relate to wanting the best for their children, including the desire to clothe them in the finest one can create or procure. How we present our children to the world reflects directly upon who we are as parents, what our communities value, and what we will sacrifice for their well-being. The process of making Kiowa clothing is slow. In each step, prayers were, are, and will be offered; aesthetic decisions were, are, and will be made with purpose; and the child who wears these garments will always be at the center of Kiowa life.

– Teri Greeves

Cat. 69. *Boy's Leggings*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, cloth, and pigment, 27 × 8 in. (68.6 × 20.3 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 92:2010a,b

Men's Clothing

Plains Indian clothing is always in a process of change. Early men's shirts were poncho-like in style and decorated with beaded strips running down the arms, chest, and back (cat. 71). As new materials became available, styles evolved. This jacket (cat. 70) embodies a late nineteenth-century Plains aesthetic and sensibility, clearly influenced by European-style clothing. In its general appearance, this jacket resembles the tailored jackets with long sleeves and a finished collar that non-Native men wore on the Western frontier during the nineteenth century, but the Native woman who made this version added a Native flair to the garment. Similar to earlier Plains shirts, this jacket has hide fringe hanging from its arms and lower edging. The front and back were constructed using several pieces of hide, while individual pieces form the sleeves. The creator of this garment hid the areas where the components were joined: after she stitched them, she covered the stitches with rows of white, black, and red glass beads using the lane-stitch technique. Hiding the seam under a row of beadwork is indicative of most Plains Indian work, a means of displaying a clean and expert finish.

A series of American flags are beaded on the front, imagery that can seem counterintuitive considering the historical (and, in many cases, contemporary) relations between the federal government and Native Americans. The late nineteenth century was a challenging time for Native peoples on the Plains. They had been firmly established in the reservation system, and the promises made to them by the U.S. government did not materialize. Families and communities were under pressure to abandon the traditions that had served them well for many generations. Embracing the symbol of the American flag was a survival tool; its image was incorporated into many objects, just as the flag itself was flown at many gatherings and ceremonies. As federal officials attempted to suppress Native traditions, Indian people deliberately used the flag to signal that their traditional ways were not a threat to U.S. authority.

Later, the flag took on a slightly different meaning. In traditional culture, Plains people fought and suffered for the well-being of their community, an idea that continues today. To many, the flag doesn't stand for the federal government or Washington, DC, but rather represents a broader feeling of pride in family and community. Since World War I, Native Americans have volunteered to serve in the military during wartime at a rate higher than any other minority group. Today, veterans are held in high esteem in Native American communities and always have a place of honor. Such pride is historically reflected in this jacket: the woman who created it has beaded four mounted warriors on the back (see pp. 126–27). They wear war bonnets, and the tails of their horses are tied up, signaling that the horse is ready for battle.

– Joe D. Horse Capture

Cat. 70. *Man's Jacket*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 27 1/2 × 23 × 7 in. (69.9 × 58.4 × 17.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 79:2010

This Northern Plains shirt is classic in both form and execution (cat. 71). It fits within the genre of Native men's clothing that was produced in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The sleeves are often open on the bottom, but closer to the twentieth century, Native makers closed them. The body is sometimes tailored slightly in or would hang straight down. The beadwork style on this example is Yanktonai, based on the blue background, small cross motif (fig. 7-4), and the elongated series of designs. A small square of yellow glass beads centers each design and complements the light- and dark-blue glass beads. Some shirts of this type have either hair, hide, or a combination of both for fringe. This embellishment nearly always appears along the back of the arms and, occasionally, along the bottom, as with this shirt.

Historically, shirts were created by women and were made for men of honor and high stature within their community. Prior to the latter years of the nineteenth century and the coming of the Reservation Era, men had to earn the right to own and wear a distinguished shirt, which in turn signaled their high ethical standards and moral fortitude. Such a prestigious shirt was bestowed upon the wearer by the entire community, and as such, the recipient was expected to uphold his moral leadership role. Far more than just a shirt, this type of exceptional garment was a symbol of trust and honor from the owner's community, to be worn with both great pride and respect. In some cases, when a shirt's owner did not live up to the community's expectations, the honor of wearing the shirt could be revoked, and the shirt confiscated—a humiliating turn of events not only for the shirt's former owner but for his entire family.

Yet even without such explanation, it is easy to understand the importance of this shirt in its traditional setting simply by looking at it. One could not know anything about its history or meaning and still feel the power of this magnificent shirt.

– Joe D. Horse Capture

Right: Cat. 71. *Shirt,* Yanktonai (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 27 × 23 in. (68.6 × 58.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 37:2012

Left: Fig. 7-4. Detail, cat. 71.

Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé) Men's Leggings

This exquisite pair of Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé) men's leggings is rich with detail and meaning (cat. 72). They were made from the single hide of a bighorn sheep, and their narrow, red trade-wool cuffs are outlined in a single row of beadwork. Large vertical beaded strips in the colors and block pattern typical of Transmontane cultures mirror the horsehair-wrapped porcupine quillwork found on Native clothing of the region from earlier periods. The leather fringe is interspersed with red-dyed horsehair, indicating that the owner and his horse were wounded in battle. The back of the leggings have a triangular red wool piece outlined in a beaded border with small beaded triangles at each corner; this symbolizes a horse's head with a rope dangling from the jaw, indicating that the owner secured picketed horses from within an enemy camp. Faint red paint lines show that the owner had achieved many war honors, and interspersed black circles represent the "hail of bullets" he rode through in battle. The leggings would have been constructed and beaded by a woman, but the painting and horsehair would have been added by the owner to signify his status as a warrior.

The original owner of these leggings was a Nimi'ipuu man named Light in the Mountain. Well known as a leader in Chief Joseph's Wallowa Band of Nimi'ipuu, his name is typically rendered in a phonetic attempt to spell the Native term: Espowyes, Ess-ow-ess, or Ess-ko-ess. Light in the Mountain was photographed wearing the leggings in 1906 during Fourth of July celebrations at Nespelem, Washington (fig. 7-5). By then, he had secured his reputation as a renowned warrior, having fought during the intertribal battles in the buffalo country of Montana during the mid- to late nineteenth century. In a pitched battle with the Nakota (Assiniboine) of northern Montana, he was shot in the hip, leaving him with a limp for the rest of his life. It is possible that it is this event that is represented by the "hail of bullets" on the leggings and the red-dyed horsehair. A spot painted on the horse's jaw, likely red, can be seen in the photograph, indicating where a previous warhorse had been wounded. The dark painted spots on the horse's neck mimic the black circles on the leggings, representing the fierce enemy fire faced by horse and rider. It was due to Light in the Mountain's bravery that he became a leader in Chief Joseph's band.

Light in the Mountain was a participant in the Nez Percé War of 1877. The day after the Battle of Big Hole, a major engagement in that war, he was among a group of Nimi'ipuu men who captured from the U.S. army a cannon and a pack train of ammunition. Later in the saga, Light in the Mountain's skills as a persuasive orator enabled him to convince his tribesmen not to kill a captured Army officer.

After the surrender and exile of Chief Joseph's people, he and two others were taken under military escort to Canada to persuade Nimi'ipuus who had fled there to return to the United States. Finally, in 1905, he was one of two Nimi'ipuu speakers at the dedication of a memorial to Chief Joseph in Nespelem. The beauty of the leggings reflects the strength, valor, and dignity of the man whose achievements they honor.

– Timothy P. McCleary

Fig. 7-5. Light in the Mountain in Native Dress with Headdress and Holding Pipe- Tomahawk, On Decorated Horse; Tipis in Background, 1906. Print from glass negative by Major Lee Moorhouse. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, BAE GN 02987B14 06479800

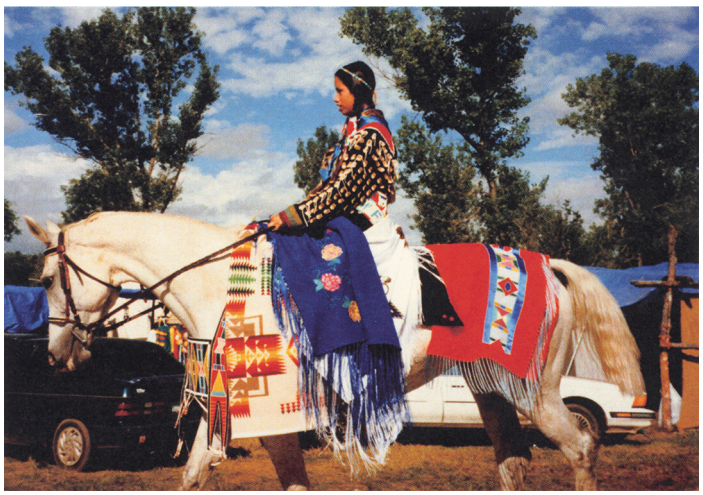
Cat. 72. *Man's Leggings*, Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé), c. 1880. Tanned hide, dyed horsehair, glass seed beads, wool cloth, and pigment, 24 1/2 × 32 in. (62.2 × 81.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 98:2010a,b

Apsáalooke Women's Leggings

The annual Crow Fair, a gathering of the Apsáalooke Nation and visitors from around the world, is one of the largest Native American encampments in the United States, with more than a thousand tipis erected as part of this weeklong event. At Crow Fair, girls' and women's leggings, part of the traditional Apsáalooke female outfit, are proudly worn and take on a life of their own. Women and girls wear leggings seated atop cars that are draped with Pendleton blankets or riding horses in the finest regalia (fig. 7-6), as do dancers on powwow grounds, who move slowly to the beat of the drum or with spirit to the "Crow Hop" dance. Women can be seen wearing leggings at honoring ceremonies and tobacco society meetings.

With their colorful horizontal bands of beadwork and their use of trade cloth, two pairs of Apsáalooke women's leggings from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries in the Danforth Collection are excellent examples both of traditional Apsáalooke craft as well as innovation (cats. 73, 74). Besides red and green, dark navy may also be used, colors that reflect those of the traditional elk-tooth dress (fig. 7-7). A pair of leather straps just under the knee and another on the outsides of the ankle tie the legging in place. Just as these trade-cloth leggings represent an adaptation to materials that had become more recently available at the time, Apsáalooke women have continued to combine innovation with tradition. Today's leggings are often fully beaded on canvas, shorter in length, rectangular, and tie or zip in the front, with the major design element of geometric or floral beadwork on the back.

– *Wendy Red Star*



Left: Fig. 7-6. Beatrice Red Star Fletcher at Crow Fair wearing Apsáalooke elk tooth dress. Photograph courtesy of Wendy Red Star

Above: Fig. 7-7. Wendy Red Star on a horse at Crow Fair. Photograph courtesy of Wendy Red Star

Cat. 73. *Woman's Leggings*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1900. Tanned hide, wool cloth, and glass seed beads, 19 × 6 1/2 in. (48.3 × 16.5 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 71:2012a,b

Cat. 74. *Girl's Leggings*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, and cotton cloth, left: 12 1/2 × 6 1/2 in. (31.8 × 16.5 cm); right: 12 1/2 × 7 in. (31.8 × 17.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 71:2013a,b

Cat. 75. *Blanket Strip*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, silk, and metal bells, 4 1/2 x 59 in. (11.4 x 149.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 42:2012

Blanket Strips

This beaded strip from the Northern Plains was designed to be sewn onto a blanket (cat. 75). When the blanket was worn, the strip would have encircled the wearer's waist, creating a striking contrast between the strip's white beaded background and the scarlet or dark-blue trade cloth to which it would have been affixed. While this example dates from the late nineteenth century, similar objects were used long before the widespread availability of blankets and trade cloth, when bison robes predominated. Larger bison hides were frequently cut lengthwise in half prior to tanning. Once tanned, the two halves were sewn back together, leaving a seam running down the middle of the robe. A strip of quillwork applied to the flesh side of a robe concealed the seam and enhanced the garment's aesthetic appeal. As glass beads became more readily available, beaded blanket strips largely replaced the quilled variety.

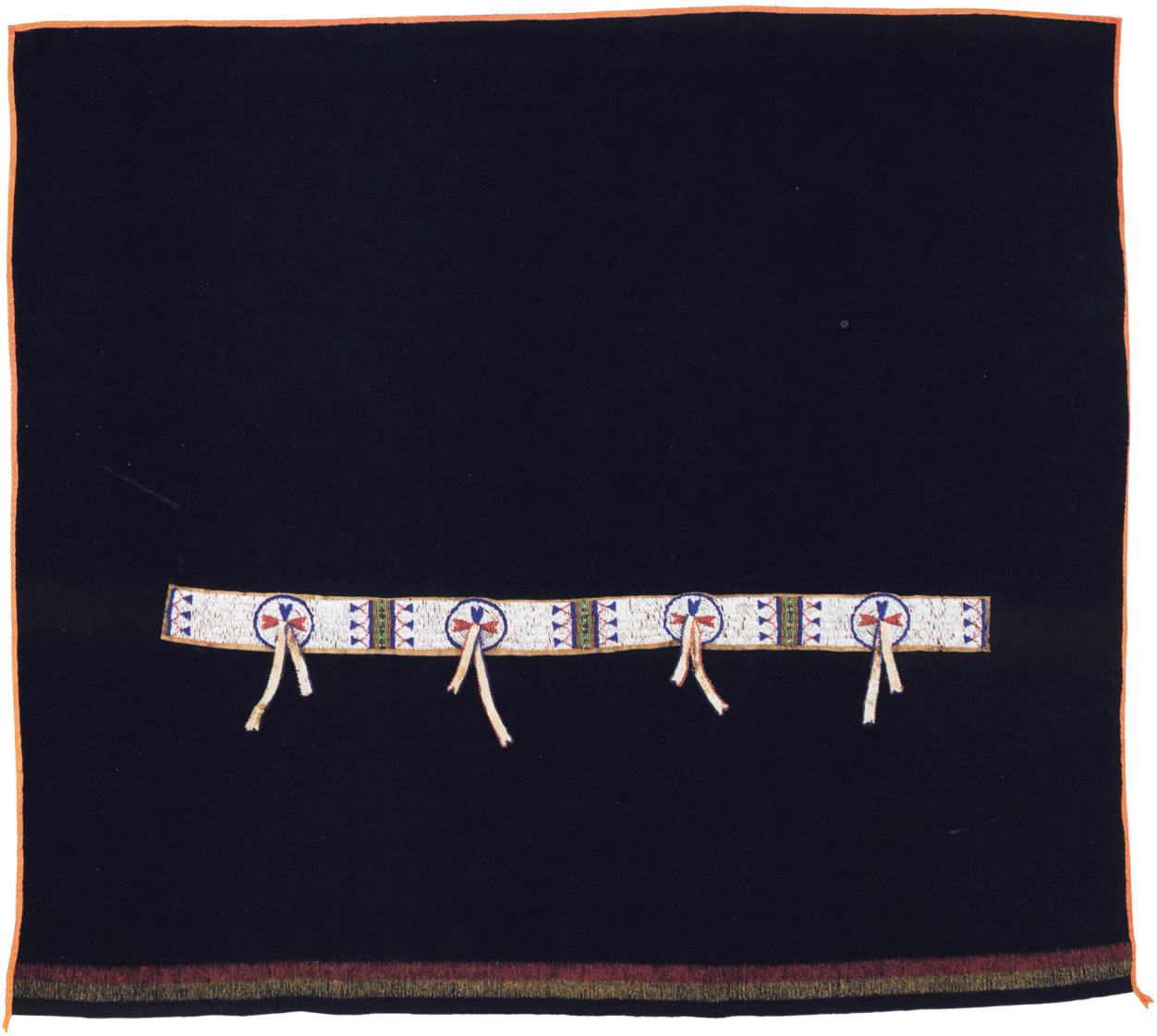
By the mid-nineteenth century, bison robes had fallen out of style, replaced by the more fashionable woolen trade blankets. Accustomed to decorating bison robes, Native women adorned the new trade blankets in the same manner. During the late nineteenth century, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) artists in particular frequently depicted blankets adorned with beaded strips in their drawings (figs. 7-8, 7-9), suggesting that these objects had become ubiquitous by that time.

– *Michael Jordan*

Left:
Fig. 7-8. Unattributed Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) artist, *Men on Horseback Hunting Deer,* 1875. Graphite and colored pencil on paper, 8 1/4 × 10 5/8 in. (21 × 27 cm). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 08547006

Right:
Fig. 7-9. Unattributed Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) artist, *Courting Scene with Decorated Tipi Nearby,* 1875. Graphite and colored pencil on paper, 8 1/4 × 10 5/8 in. (21 × 27 cm). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 08547016

By the 1960s and '70s, when I was growing up on the Lakota reservations of Pine Ridge and Rosebud in South Dakota, few Lakota men still wore blankets with beaded strips. Those who did were men of prominence, such as traditional Sun Dance leader Frank Fools Crow, Chief Jake Kills In Sight, William Schweigman, also known as Chief Eagle Feather, and Ellis Head, senior men's traditional dancer. Blankets with blanket strips were more common in earlier times: historical photographs such as those from the signing of the treaty at Fort Laramie in 1868 or from the negotiations and diplomatic visits made by prominent Native leaders to Washington, DC, reveal many wearing their finest regalia, including blanket strips.



Cat. 76. *Blanket with Blanket Strip*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1910. Wool cloth, tanned hide, glass seed beads, and metallic beads, 43 × 48 in. (109.2 × 121.9 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 79:2012

The origin of these beaded strips, such as the one on this blanket (cat. 76), began with decorated buffalo robes, which served as vital outer garments for Plains Native men in the nineteenth century and, perhaps, during the eighteenth century as well. Buffalo hides, split down the center to more easily flesh and tan the entire surface, were then sewn back together to form a single robe that would wrap around the wearer's entire body. A decorated blanket strip of hide, adorned with quillwork and, later, glass beads, would be sewn horizontally over the existing seam, adding beauty to disguise a functional hem. The two ends of the strip would meet in front when the hide was wrapped around the wearer. But by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, bison had become scarce, and wool blankets were substituted for bison robes. Beaded strips still continued to be placed across these new outer garments, signaling an enduring aesthetic preference that transcended the strips' original function.

I once asked Alice Fish, a prominent beadworker from Rosebud, if she would make me a beaded strip for a blanket. Her response was that she would have to go to the small museum on the reservation to see how many rosettes should appear on a blanket strip. Many of these historical strips contain similar patterns: beaded rosettes or medallions depicting a crosslike design, which is interpreted as symbolizing the four directions, and elongated beaded sections depicting a design of a bar and box embellished with a thin line and several small triangles. Lakota artist and scholar Arthur Amiotte points to the social significances of these blanket strips: "If you wrap it around you, the rosettes encircle you, one, two, three, four, and you are standing in the center, oriented to the four directions."[1]

A young man who sought a wife may have had his mother or sister create a beautiful strip to impress a young woman whom he may have been interested in. Such a strip was typically sewn to what was considered a "courting blanket," a two-toned blanket of red and blue cloth large enough to cover the young man and young woman. This common form of courting, conducted under the watchful eye of a chaperone, has been further described by Richard Conn: "Wrapped in a two-colored courting blanket, [the young man] walked near the girl's tipi at dusk, hoping she would come out and speak to him. If she did, he wrapped the blanket around them both and together they promenaded about the camp, an act equivalent to a public announcement of engagement. As the courtship progressed, the boy and the two fathers met to agree on an exchange of gifts which would solemnize the marriage."[2]

The creating of beaded blanket strips has been revived among the Lakota, with today's blankets used not only by Lakota men but women as well, who often carry a blanket with a beaded strip as a part of their regalia for traditional dancing. Some women dancers carry blankets with beaded strips as a sign of status, while others carry them to honor deceased members of their families who were among the traditional leaders of their community.

– Emil Her Many Horses

Notes

1 Jonathan Batkin, *Splendid Heritage: Masterpieces of Native American Art from the Masco Collection* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 1995), 34.

2 Richard Conn, *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1982), 26.

Lakota and Dakota Moccasins: Tradition and Change

By 1800, the Lakota and Dakota (Sioux) people spanned diverse geographical regions that engendered different moccasin techniques and styles. Soft-soled moccasins suited the soft forest floors of the verdant woodlands of eastern North America and the Great Lakes region, and were used by the Dakota (Eastern Sioux) living in these areas, including what is now Minnesota and eastern North and South Dakota.[1] But as the Dakota and Lakota tribes moved west along the northern Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the arid Northern Plains during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they adapted into migratory, bison-hunting warrior societies. The harsher terrain of these new environments demanded more durable and protective hard-soled moccasins.

The Danforth Collection includes many such moccasins, featuring soft decorated uppers sewn to durable, stiff rawhide soles, such as the four pairs pictured here (cats. 77–80). These date to around the turn of the twentieth century, but use design elements and structures that date to the early nineteenth century. Prior to the forced sedentary life on the reservations, a great similarity in technique, style, and designs of moccasins existed across the Northern Plains, as a pair of Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) moccasins in the collection attests (see cat. 103) The rich tradition of intertribal trade, ritual adoption, reciprocal gift giving, and intermarriage, as well as capture and plunder during intertribal warfare, gave rise to a significant degree of cross-cultural influence.

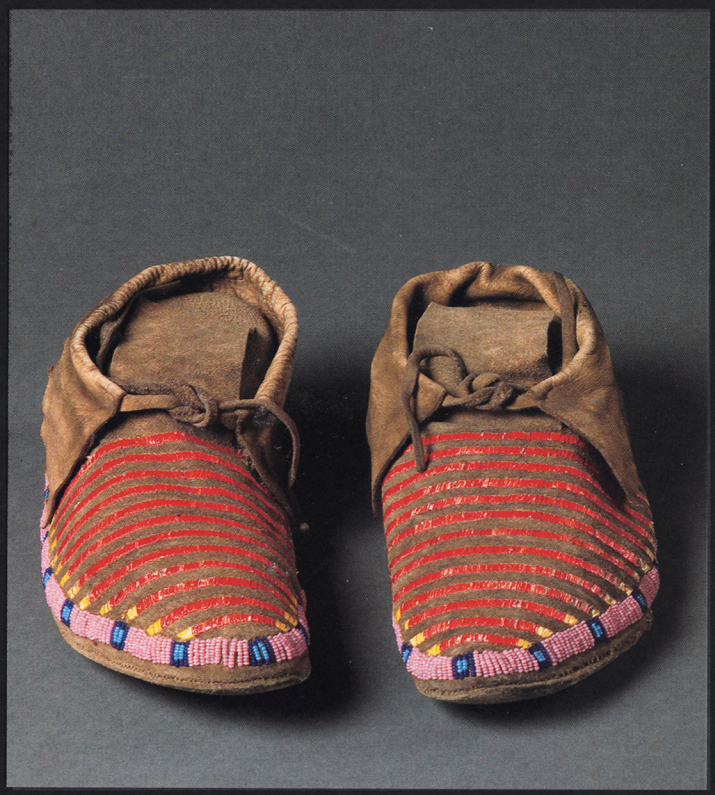
Among the Lakota, the ancient technique of porcupine quillwork continued to be used on moccasins well into the Reservation Era, often in combination with trade goods more recently acquired, such as glass beads, cloth, and tiny tin or lead cones, and it continues to be employed today, enjoying a renaissance that began in the 1980s. To make, receive, inherit, own, and wear quilled items, even those combining newer media, is an indication of fidelity to the ancient tribal ethos of *Lakol Wicoha*, or adherence and devotion to tradition.

Opposite, clockwise from top left:
Cat. 77. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth, 5 × 9 × 3 1/4 in. (12.7 × 22.9 × 8.3 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 52:2013a,b

Cat. 78. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Leather, rawhide, cotton cloth, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills, 5 1/2 × 2 1/2 × 4 in. (14 × 6.4 × 10.2 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 84:2010a,b

Cat. 79. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and cotton cloth, 4 1/2 × 11 1/2 × 6 in. (11.4 × 29.2 × 15.2 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 62:2013a,b

Cat. 80. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills, 4 1/2 × 4 1/2 × 10 in. (11.4 × 11.4 × 25.4 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 182:2011a,b



Clockwise from top left:
Cat. 81. *Moccasins*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 5 × 10 3/4 × 4 1/4 in. (12.7 × 27.3 × 10.8 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 61:2013a,b

Cat. 82. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux) or Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 9 × 4 × 3 1/2 in. (22.9 × 10.2 × 8.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 102:2010a,b

Cat. 83. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux) or Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1900. Tanned hide, pigment, rawhide, glass seed beads, and sinew, 4 × 10 3/4 × 4 in. (10.2 × 27.3 × 10.2 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 74:2015a,b

By the 1870s, trading posts and stores in Native territory provided an abundance of beads and other decorative materials, though beads had been embraced decades before, and their proliferation reflected Native women's immense creativity (cats. 81–84). While the basic structural design of moccasins did not change, their surfaces became more embellished, with intricate beadwork often covering the entirety of the soft-tanned uppers, tongues, ankle bands, and in some cases, even the soles.

Forced relocation to reservations and the federal government's prohibition of travel between Native communities disrupted the historical process of cultural exchange and gave rise to distinct tribal styles, which Native women repeated and then passed down, teaching new generations the design principles, techniques, color combinations, and materials that they determined were "traditional" to their specific tribe. In some tribes, older traditions of plaited quillwork laid down on hide and attached with animal sinew passed out of practice, replaced by glass beads sewn with cotton or linen thread and fine-beading needles.

Ella Cara Deloria, the preeminent Dakota linguist and ethnographer, describes five parts of the Teton moccasins worn on formal occasions, such as a pair in the collection (cat. 85): soles of stiff rawhide; uppers (vamps) of soft-tanned leather; a tongue of soft-tanned leather sewn to the edge of the vamp next to the front of the ankle; the ankle piece, a band of soft-tanned skin attached to the upper to lengthen its sides and cover the ankle; and soft leather strings laced through the upper just below where it is joined to the ankle piece.[2] In addition, women's and children's moccasins have

Cat. 84. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and sinew, 4 × 11 1/2 × 4 in. (10.2 × 29.2 × 10.2 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 75:2015a,b

a second ankle band to wrap smoothly around the ankle. The deerskin strings (laced into the original uppers, just below the seam attaching the ankle piece) were long enough to be wound two or three times around the ankle to keep the band and tongue secure and neat. Above these moccasins and extending to just below the knee, women and girls wore soft-tanned leggings for warmth and protection, held up by a garter (cat. 86).

Moccasins for men and adolescent boys were slipperlike, with the narrower ankle band worn folded down (cat. 88). The moccasin strings were tied firmly beneath the tongue, which was also folded down to hang over the vamp. On men's formal moccasins, the tongues are ornately quilled or beaded; forked or split, they include tufts of brightly colored down feathers on the tips, which are held in place by tiny metal cones that were cut from tins for tobacco or baking powder.

Soft-soled moccasins continued to be made for ceremonial and indoor use, constructed by sewing an upper to a separate sole made from hide. Winter moccasins were fashioned from a tanned buffalo hide with the hair left on, sometimes from recycled hairy portions of a worn winter robe. If the robe had been painted on the flesh side, portions of the painted designs might appear on the exterior of the moccasin, since the hair formed the inside for insulation against the cold (cat. 87). Another style of soft-soled moccasin was made exclusively for formal wear. A precut pattern of tanned hide was folded crosswise in half, and the necessary panels added to form the back and sides. Often these were elaborately embroidered with quills or beadwork on the vamp, and they were worn by men riding horseback or indoors performing rituals, delivering oratory, or dancing on specially prepared grounds. As with other types of moccasins—and, indeed, much of the material wealth for the Lakota—it was women who painstakingly created this richly detailed footwear, and it is the generations of mothers, sisters, aunts, and grandmothers who deserve credit for the perpetuation and preservation of the remarkable aesthetic and technical qualities of their people's moccasins.

— *Arthur Amiotte*

Notes

1 Norman Feder, *Art of the Eastern Plains Indians: The Nathan Sturges Jarvis Collection* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1964).

2 Ella Cara Deloria, "Dakota Terms for Museum Objects" (unpublished manuscript commissioned by U.S. Department of Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Rapid City, SD, 1960).

Opposite, clockwise from top left:
Cat. 85. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth, 7 × 4 1/2 × 11 in. (17.8 × 11.4 × 27.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 170:2011a,b

Cat. 86. *Girl's Leggings and Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and metallic beads, each legging: 8 1/2 × 2 1/2 in. (21.6 × 6.4 cm); each moccasin: 7 × 3 × 1 1/2 in. (17.8 × 7.6 × 3.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 77:2010a–d

Cat. 87. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux) or Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 4 1/2 × 10 × 3 3/4 in. (11.4 × 25.4 × 9.5 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 60:2013a,b

Cat. 88. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth, 4 × 11 × 5 in. (10.2 × 27.9 × 12.7 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 80:2013a,b

Ritual Footsteps: Lakota Moccasins for Ceremonial Use

In the Lakota language, *saiciya* ("to paint oneself red") is the term for adorning oneself elegantly for special occasions as a means of honoring the ideals of Lakota society. A related word, *saya*, means "to ritually paint red or give adorned clothes [including moccasins] to another." Lovingly crafted and meticulously decorated moccasins conferred in ceremony celebrate Lakota identity, status, and personal achievement. Giving away finely made items honors both giver and recipient and also redistributes wealth. A giveaway is accompanied by a larger ceremony and public feast, so that all may share in and witness the largesse of the sponsors and the worthiness of the recipient.[1]

Special moccasins are bestowed and worn on a number of ritual occasions. The arrival of a new child in a noted family brought industrious female artisans the opportunity to create tiny decorated moccasins for the child's first public appearance before a large audience at a Sun Dance, during which parents would hold the child in their arms as the sacred tree was placed at the center of the ceremonial lodge, an act of sanctification that makes both tree and child the center of the Lakota universe. At this time, the child's earlobes would be ritually pierced, and the holes strung with cord and later with metal rings. Blood that fell from the piercing was collected on a tuft of shed bison hair and tied to the sacred tree to purify it, the first sacrifice of many that would be offered in the coming days by adult participants. Both parents, with stoic facial expressions, "cried inside

Cat. 89. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 10 1/2 × 4 1/2 × 3 1/2 in. (26.7 × 11.4 × 8.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 38:2012a,b

themselves" at the sight of their wailing child flinging its tiny hands and smearing blood and tears across its face. The child's courageous endurance of this initiation revealed to all what it means to be a Lakota. Piercing the ears opened one's spirit self to be able to hear the voices and sounds of the gods beckoning throughout life.[2] Parents and child would then retreat, leaving food and goods at the entrance to the sacred lodge for all assembled. Returning to their camp, their extended family would host a public feast and giveaway in honor of the child, which would include, among other lovingly handcrafted gifts, decorated moccasin tops in matching pairs for both adults and children. Unattached rawhide soles would be placed in gift bundles with the moccasin tops, to be cut to fit the recipient's feet and sewn into moccasins by female relatives. Young and old would dance with fully beaded moccasins (cat. 89) to the honoring songs in praise of the family and beloved child. In adulthood, a woman might wear her first pair of tiny moccasins suspended from her belt along with her strike-a-light bag, awl case, and knife sheath as a reminder of having been the focus of a central rite of passage.[3]

The *Hunka* ("Beloved") ceremony, performed for children and pubescent young women, was another occasion for making and wearing fully beaded or quilled moccasins (cats. 90–91). *Hunka* ceremonies bestowed blessings and wisdom upon special children so that they would continue to fulfill the highest ideals of Lakota society, including generosity and hospitality, thus contributing to the physical welfare of the less fortunate. Acts of philanthropy would be performed on behalf of the children by their relatives. In adulthood, those who had been *hunka* had a responsibility to maintain the level of industriousness, generosity, and kindness expected of people of status and wealth.

At the beginning of the *Hunka* ceremony, blessed children are considered so precious that not even their feet may touch the ground, which is symbolized by moccasins that are fully beaded, even on the soles, described by Yankton (Sioux) scholar Ella Cara Deloria as "made to be worn by those who do not walk."[4] Children shod in this footwear would be carried from their tipis on the backs of ceremonial participants to an altar prepared in the center of the gathered audience. An adolescent girl being honored would wear her tribal best, including her fully embellished moccasins and leggings, and she would be carried on a specially quilled, beaded, or painted buffalo robe by four ritually appointed carriers. After maturation and on the occasion of her joining her husband's family, she and her family would approach his family's tipi bearing gifts. Arriving astride her favorite horse and wearing her fully beaded moccasins, she would then be carried by her new female in-laws to a tipi prepared for the newlyweds.

Beaded-sole moccasins continued to be made throughout the early Reservation Era. The legal prohibition of Lakota ceremonies in 1881, including the ban on ceremonial giveaways, gave rise to modified rituals where traditionally made goods continued to be exchanged and gifted. Fully beaded moccasins were made for honorees participating in these modified ceremonies, thus reaffirming Lakota ideals amid the force of state-sanctioned attempts to extinguish traditional practices.[5] In the changed circumstances of Reservation Era life, fully decorated moccasins were made for many newfangled situations. Children leaving for or returning from distant boarding schools were recipients, as were tribal members who traveled great distances with live-action Wild West shows and, later, young men returning from service in both world wars. High school and college graduates

Cat. 90. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, wool cloth, and pigment, 3 1/2 × 10 1/2 × 3 3/4 in. (8.9 × 26.7 × 9.5 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 49:2013a,b

Cat. 91. *Moccasins*, Plains, c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 3 3/4 × 6 × 2 1/4 in. (9.5 × 15.2 × 5.7 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 47:2013a,b

received moccasins, as have doctors, clergy, and politicians and other government officials, as well as newlyweds, visitors from other tribes, and even former enemies of the Lakota. And, of course, young people who will dance for the first time at a powwow warrant new moccasins.

The tradition of making fully embellished moccasins as gifts of honor remains as an important element of *saiciya* to this day, an enduring expression of the values at the heart of Lakota culture. Most certainly it is an essential part of contemporary formal tribal dress for families who still observe ceremonial and secular *saiciya*. The beaded moccasin is a ritual punctuation, even for wearers otherwise clad in the most recent non-Native fashion.

– *Arthur Amiotte*

Notes

1 Arthur Amiotte, unpublished interviews with Lakota elders on Pine Ridge and Standing Rock reservations, South Dakota, 1972–78, in the author's archives.

2 This author personally witnessed contemporary versions of this ritual while serving as ceremonial assistant at Sun Dance ceremonies in 1983 and 1984.

3 Should a child die, fully beaded moccasins became grave goods. They were not made for this purpose and cannot be labeled burial moccasins, nor can those made for adults. Lakota custom calls for interment at the end of a four-day period. Such beaded items could not be completed in that amount of time exclusively for the dead. It can be said that those adults who were honored to wear such moccasins treasured and cared for them with reverence and pride, and indeed designated them for their final attire upon their demise.

4 For decades up to the time of her death, Ella Cara Deloria (1889–1971) interviewed elders about pre-reservation traditions. The documents consulted here remain unpublished in the archives of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the U.S. Deptartment of the Interior.

5 See Marsha Bol, "Lakota Beaded Costumes of the Early Reservation Era," *Phebus: A Journal of Art History* 4 (1985).

Cat. 92. *Moccasins*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth, 11 1/8 × 4 5/8 × 3 1/2 in. (28.3 × 11.7 × 8.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 100:2010a,b

Thunderbird's Power

The dramatic thunderbird imagery makes these moccasins special (cat. 92). It was believed that "thunder and lightning were produced by a great bird whose shadow is the thunder cloud, whose flapping wings make the sound of thunder, and whose flashing eyes rapidly opening or closing send forth the lightning," and the thunderbird was often depicted in the form exemplified here, with an hourglass-shaped body, small head, feet, and wings.[1]

The imagery on these moccasins likely references their owner's visionary experience, as James Mooney described during the late nineteenth century. To dream of thunderbirds was the greatest gift that supernatural powers could bestow. Among the Lakota, those who dreamed of thunderbirds were known as *Heyoka*, and to be the recipient of such powerful dreams demanded equally important obligations. Rituals associated with *Heyoka* status included a ceremony in which *Heyoka* ridiculed themselves before the tribe. Subsequently, each would behave in a manner contrary to the natural way of doing

things. "He expresses joy by sighs and groans and pain by the opposite sound and looks. Heat causes his flesh to shiver . . . while cold makes him perspire. They feel perfect confidence when beset with dangers, and quake with fear when safe," as anthropologist Frances Densmore recounted.[2]

The importance of the mythical thunderbird is also noted by the account of George Bushotter, of the Teton Lakota, provided to ethnologist James Owen Dorsey in the late nineteenth century: "Women used to dream about Thunder-beings, just as men did, and in those dreams the *Heyoka* man or woman made promises to the Thunder-beings. If the dreamers kept their promises, it was thought that the Thunder-beings helped them to obtain whatever things they desired; but if they broke their promises, they were sure to be killed by the Thunder-beings during some storm. For this reason the *Heyoka* members worshipped the Thunder-beings, whom they honored, speaking of them as *wakan* ('sacred')."[3] Despite their overt foolishness and contradictory behavior during the *Heyoka* ceremony, it was understood by the tribe that the *Heyoka* could always call upon the Thunder-beings for assistance. The individual who wore the moccasins here was a powerful member of society.

Even as thunderbird imagery is common in Lakota arts, there is other evidence that allows us to attribute these moccasins to the Lakota with certainty. The moccasins are of typical two-piece construction, with rawhide soles and soft-tanned uppers; undecorated hide tongues and a ribbon of cotton cloth bound around the ankle were added to finish their appearance—all elements that follow traditional tribal conventions.

For those seeking answers to the identification of Plains Indian beadwork, moccasins have been a rewarding field of study. While federal policies continually pushed Native people toward assimilation and acculturation, moccasins continued to be made and worn long after other items of traditional apparel were abandoned. Consequently, large numbers of moccasins survive for our consideration. Close examination and comparison, including the type of hide used, the tailoring of both soles and uppers, beading techniques, color preferences, and even bead size, as well as the arrangement and type of decorative design (geometric, floral, figurative) on the vamps, ankles, cuffs, and heels, gives us information concerning tribal affiliation and dating, lessons that can then be applied to all manner of beaded items.

– Richard Pohrt Jr.

Notes

1 James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part 2* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 968.

2 Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 61 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 159.

3 James Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), 471.

Arapaho Moccasins

Although much has been lost through time and assimilation concerning the Hinono'ei (Arapaho) style of moccasins, beadwork, and patterns, it is through stories passed down to me by my relations and through my own study that I am able to explain what these symbols mean to me and, perhaps, what they meant to the moccasin makers themselves. There is much symbolism and many stories that are important to each individual maker; the degree of that significance is conveyed through their craftsmanship. Each pair of moccasins tells a story in itself, as portrayed and depicted by its individual patterns and beadwork.

These I believe to be a style of Arapaho ceremonial moccasins (cat. 93). The beadwork is of the sun pattern with the diamond in yellow supported by the colors of red and black. The white background is for the sky, with green here representative of Mother Earth. The small square patterns of white and blue suggest to me a camp located near small bodies of water. The red paint is very significant, as this color was, and continues to be, used mainly for ceremonial purposes. Its presence here leads me to believe that this pair of moccasins was quite possibly made for the Sun Dance, although this remains conjecture.

The diamond shapes on the white-beaded moccasins represent Arapaho turtles, which are surrounded by fields of blue suggesting water (cat. 94). The path of green separating the water with red stripes in the center is symbolic of man on a path. The tongues are a very important part of the moccasins, given the two main stripe colors of yellow and blue. These colors had a tremendous significance to the individual: they were his own personal colors that he carried for life. The pink background on the tongues is the Arapaho color for life. The cross in the center represents the sun; the outline of red, man; and green in the center, Mother Earth.

Very intricate beadwork patterns suggest to me that these moccasins are also Arapaho style (cat. 95). The pink centers outlined by white with definitive earth-path symbols along the outside appear to be what I believe are mountains. The moccasin tongues are in a typical Arapaho style, with yellow and blue stripes, that I again believe to be the owner's personal colors. The green line once again symbolizes the earth, and the red center line depicts man, with intricate path symbols signifying a journey to reach an area of where possibly an encampment was made. The detail and exceptional craftsmanship suggest these moccasins were made for a significant social event at this particular camp.

Cat. 93. *Moccasins*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 4 1/2 × 10 1/2 × 3 1/2 in. (11.4 × 26.7 × 8.9 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 56:2013a,b

Cat. 94. *Moccasins*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Cheyenne River Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 3 × 9 × 3 1/4 in. (7.6 × 22.9 × 8.3 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 53:2013a,b

Cat. 95. *Moccasins*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Cheyenne River Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 2 3/4 × 9 1/2 × 3 in. (7 × 24.1 × 7.6 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 54:2013a,b

The main centerpiece on these moccasins, as indicated by the cross feature on each, is of the Morning Star, a hallmark of Arapaho style that greatly simplifies the task of identification (cat. 96). The colors green, red, and white represent the earth, man, and sky, respectively. The symbol designs with the three lines also depict the Arapaho people themselves. These moccasins were most likely made for a male and probably used for daily wear, as suggested by their relative lack of intricate beadwork as well as their general wear.

Identifying these moccasins as Arapaho style is a bit more difficult, as some of the symbols and patterns I have not personally encountered before (cat. 97). Yet through reference to other Arapaho-style moccasins, as well a through personal knowledge and understanding, we can infer that these, too, are of Arapaho design and coloration. The design elements suggest a person who has been at a camp divided by two other bands situated next to a large lake. The stripes separating the symbols show this to be a common area shared by the Arapaho people, a territory that also includes a large freshwater source. The green beading is symbolic of the earth.

– John White Antelope

Cat. 96. *Moccasins*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1885. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment, right: 9 1/4 x 3 3/8 x 3 1/2 in. (23.5 x 8 x 8.9 cm); left: (9 1/4 x 3 1/4 x 4 in. (23.5 x 8.3 x 10 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 61:2012a,b

Cat. 97. *Moccasins*, probably Hinono'ei (Arapaho), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, right: 3 1/2 x 3 in. (8.9 x 7.6 cm); left: 3 3/8 x 3 in. (8 x 7.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 60:2012a,b

Being a Kiowa Artist

I am a Kiowa bootmaker, and I have my ancestors' hands when I work—I feel it. It is also this legacy that has informed my appreciation and understanding of the historical footwear from other Southern Plains tribes in the Danforth Collection, such as the pair of Inde (Apache) boot-moccasins discussed by Dan Swan in this catalogue (pp. 134–35; see cat. 66). This type of footwear, later called leggings, is constructed with moccasins and leggings sewn together. Prior to the Reservation Era, when Native people rode horses, the leggings would have been more like hip-boots, to protect from chafing, but during the Reservation Era, the length of the boot shortened to below the knee, covering the entire calf.

There are certain parts of the Apache boot-leggings that tell me they are Southern Plains, but not Kiowa. Kiowa leggings typically follow certain guidelines. These things come to you when you learn and when you work. For the Kiowa, for instance, the placement of the big toe falls toward the center, while the Apache pair is more to the outside of the center, similar as well to the style of the Numinu (Comanche). Also, when Kiowa women stopped riding horses, the tops of the hide were shortened to the top of the knee. Extra hide would be made into flaps or cut into strings to form long fringe. The Apache pair uses short fringe. Kiowa boots, especially earlier ones, such as those here (cat. 98) tend to have a circle design at the center of the foot (fig. 7-10), but the pattern wouldn't match the ankle pattern like those on the Apache boot-leggings, nor would Kiowas have pink and white beads touch each other.

Cat. 98. *Moccasins*, Gaigwa (Kiowa), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 3 × 20 × 4 1/4 in. (7.6 × 50.8 × 10.8 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 59:2013a,b

Above: Fig. 7-10. Detail, cat. 98

Cat. 99. *Moccasins*, Numinu (Comanche), c. 1885. Leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 10 × 4 × 3 in. (25.4 × 10.2 × 3 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 96:2010a,b

The particular way that a moccasin is constructed is part of our identity, including tongue placement and the connection and construction of the sole. On moccasins made by another tribe (cat. 99), the sole is sewn inside out and then flipped. Historically, a Kiowa maker would not flip the soles inside out; she would stitch-sew the sole on the outside, close to the edge. Today we sew moccasin tops inside out and flip them like other tribes, a change I believe started with the rise of the Peyote Church, or Native American Church. Our Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) neighbors make moccasins this way, and when the Peyote road was adopted by Kiowa in the late nineteenth century, our sole construction changed. The Comanche have figured out how to hide stitches so effectively that they are virtually invisible. I made a pair like that once. It isn't easy to hide those threads.

The tongue placement and the extra fringe at the back of the moccasin also identifies the tribe. Some are connected to hide the seam or the attachment of the tongue. In some cases, the top of the tongue is not made from extra material but is part of the upper. Kiowas like to show the added tongue part, as in the Kiowa moccasins here. We decorate it fancy. Heel fringe construction is distinctive as well. Unlike other tribes, Kiowa trailing fringe comes in one piece, constructed from the upper part of the moccasin. For the fringe, we cut the top upper and make one side extra long so this fringe is a part of a single piece, rather than added on.

– Kathy Dickerson

Cat. 100. *Moccasins*, Southern Plains or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1900. Leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and cotton cloth, 10 1/4 × 3 7/8 × 4 1/8 in. (26 × 9.8 × 10.5 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 76:2010a,b

Cheyenne Moccasins

Highly decorated Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) moccasins fill museum collections and are coveted by collectors, yet from the perspective of many orthodox practitioners of the Cheyenne religion, it is the unbeaded or minimally beaded pairs, referred to as *po-bi-kins* or *pó'o'kėhanótse* by the Southern or Northern Cheyenne, respectively, that are the most beautiful (cat. 100). Such moccasins reflect one of the virtues prized by orthodox Cheyennes: humility.[1] The absence of adornment reminds participants in Native Cheyenne ceremonies of the importance of this virtue, an inversion of aesthetics in which the inner beauty of such minimally decorated moccasins is seen as more beautiful than the ornate pairs. In a 2009 interview, leading Native scholar Henrietta Mann (Cheyenne) explained that her most beautiful pair of moccasins is unbeaded and splattered with paint after she wore them through ceremonies.[2]

Thus, even humbler moccasins deserve attention for their representation of a value central to Cheyenne culture. This pair is minimally beaded but has been embellished with colored pigments and fringe to produce a striking composition. A single lane of beadwork encircles the perimeter, with two lanes extending over the vamp, one over the instep, and one circling around the back of the ankle. Short leather fringe accents the outer edge of one lane on each moccasin up the vamp, and long fringe extends from the heel seams. Red ocher colors the leather in the center of the vamps and around the back of the feet, while the front sides feature green pigment. This pair of moccasins illustrates how incorporating beads, solid color fields, and accents of fringe can produce a form of art with multiple levels of visual impact as well as complex layers of culturally embedded meaning.

– John P. Lukavic

Notes

1 I prefer the term "orthodox" to the overused and imprecise term "traditional," for "orthodox" expresses a connection to "contemporary religious beliefs that strictly adhere to historic practices." See my "Teaching a Nation: Transmitting Knowledge through Southern Cheyenne Art," *American Indian Art Magazine* 38.3 (Summer 2013): 49.

2 Ibid., 143.

A Guide on the Road of Life

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, moccasin makers in communities in both Oklahoma (Southern Cheyenne) and Montana (Northern Cheyenne) were highly prolific, crafting footwear for personal and family use as well as for the commercial tourist market (fig. 7-11). Many of these makers were members of a women's society in which the beading of certain items, such as tipi liners, medallions, or pillows, was done to fulfill vows.[1] Quality of production was regulated by these societies, which nurtured generations of accomplished artists.

Unlike some items produced within the context of specialized sodalities, however, moccasins were not considered "sacred." Common moccasin designs were often shared among members of a community. Indeed, the most common iconographic elements, usually relating to important religious or social customs, were used in many communities and could be depicted in a variety of ways, although the meaning remains the same. Less common elements likely pertained to a specific individual or their use was limited to a particular family because the design may have related to an individual family member's dream or vision.

By the mid-twentieth century, women's societies had largely ceased to operate due to the powerful forces of assimilation and dislocation, giving way to extended family groups who maintained systems of design ownership. Over time, such groups themselves fragmented further, condensing into nuclear families of moccasin makers geographically dispersed. Today, moccasin making is largely an individual pursuit. Yet most contemporary Cheyennes who do such work are descended from women who were once members of a society, and many contemporary makers still maintain a collection of moccasin designs passed down through generations.

Fig. 7-11. Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) women making moccasins, c. 1910. Photograph by Reese Kinkaid. Collection of Jim Cooley

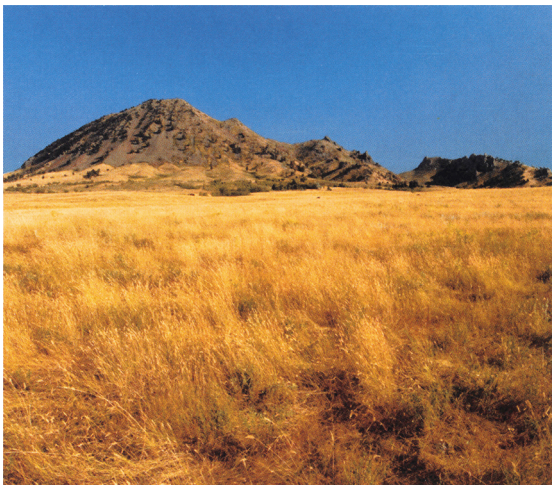


Fig. 7-12. Bear Butte, South Dakota. Photograph courtesy of South Dakota Tourism

Cat. 101. *Moccasins*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, left: 3 5/8 x 4 1/4 in. (8 x 10.8 cm); right: 3 3/4 x 4 1/4 in. (9.5 x 10.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 52:2012a,b

Like stories, ceremonial practices, and diverse visual arts, moccasins are didactic tools. Many aspects of Cheyenne culture are laden with symbolism in order to impart important lessons about the world and an individual's place within it. Without a formal writing system, Cheyenne ceremonialists, including moccasin makers, used mnemonics and symbols to encode and transmit cultural lessons and religious tenets. Such symbols teach young Cheyenne children about their Native culture. As the owner of such material objects grew up, these tangible referents helped him or her to follow a road guided by Cheyenne orthodoxy. Moccasin imagery demarcated the wearer as someone who had learned such lessons. Today, few individuals keep this knowledge, and even fewer share what they know.[2]

Cheyenne moccasins in the Danforth Collection clearly illustrate designs that are intended to serve as important lessons or reminders. For example, triangular design elements such as those exhibited by the moccasins here (cat. 101) reference Bear Butte (near Sturgis, South Dakota), the sacred mountain where the Cheyenne prophet Sweet Medicine received the four Sacred Arrows and where Cheyenne people continue to go for spiritual guidance (fig. 7-12). Sometimes referred to as a "tipi" design, these triangular designs reference far more than that. In her work with Bill Redhat Sr., *Keeper of the Cheyenne Sacred Arrows*, Renate Schukies has noted: "Of all the tribes [that hold Bear Butte sacred], the Cheyenne attach the most importance to the mountain. They call him *Nowah'wus*—'Where the people are taught,' or simply, 'Bear Tipi.' Inside the giant bear stands

the 'Tipi of Instructions' where *Maheo*, the Allfather; the *Maheyuno*, the four keepers of the corners of the universe; and the *Maiyun*, the spirits who live above and below the earth, teach human seekers of learning."[3]

For this reason, triangular design elements reference not only the physical mountain, or even the Tipi of Instructions, but also the Sacred Arrows, the acts of Sweet Medicine, the location where Cheyennes go to collect earth pigments and medicines for ceremonies, and more. The apparent simplicity of the triangular form in its many variations, such as displayed on another pair of moccasins in the collection (cat. 102) can easily be overlooked, though it is replete with meaning.

There is another iconographic feature that Cheyenne moccasin makers refer to as a tipi (cat. 103).[4] This design generally consists of a central circle with three broken rings surrounding it. The two interior rings are often left unconnected closest to the moccasin toe. A V-shaped field extends from the center circle up toward the ankle and is often topped by another design element—in the case of the moccasins here, a cross. Used on Cheyenne girls' and women's moccasins, this is essentially a map of the interior of a tipi and has long been used to teach young women about tipi protocol (fig. 7-13).

Cat. 102. *Moccasins*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Leather, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 10 1/2 × 4 × 3 in. (26.7 × 10.2 × 7.6 cm), each. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 85:2010a,b

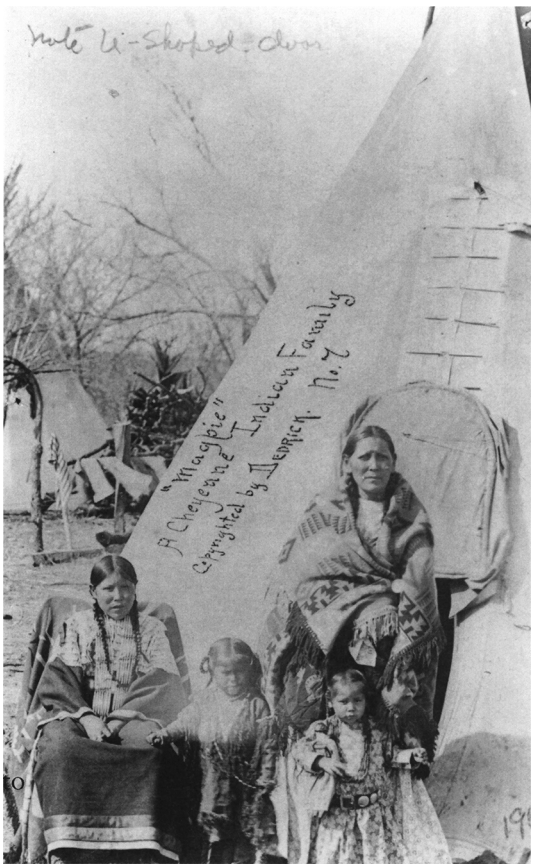


Fig. 7-13. Magpie, a Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) woman, with her children in front of her tipi, 1900. Photograph by J. V. Dedrick. Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Campbell 175

The meaning of the design is general enough that it can be used to discuss various tipis with different internal seating arrangements. The center circle represents the fire in the center of a tipi. Although the example here uses blue beads for the surrounding internal rings, these are often formed by red beads. The internal rings reference where societies or particular individuals sit within a a tipi. The open space between the internal rings, closest to the toe, represents the sacred space where ceremonial bundles may be kept. The V-shaped element extending from the center is the door facing east, and the design element closest to the ankle, outside the circle, is the morning star.

Both the triangular elements and the image of a circular tipi demonstrate how moccasin makers created and used designs for instructing and reminding wearers of important lessons related to Cheyenne life. Moccasins in the Danforth Collection are important reminders of Cheyenne values, religion, and family life, serving as records not only of the past, but of the legacy and practices of many Cheyenne people today.

— *John P. Lukavic*

Notes

1 Alice Marriott, "The 'Trade Guild' of the Southern Cheyenne Women," Alice Marriott Collection, 1–24, box 8, folder 4, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman, Oklahoma. Document is signed: "Alice L. Marriott. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. May 24, 1938 (1938)."

2 John P. Lukavic, "Southern Cheyenne Orthodoxy: A Study in Materiality" (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 2012), see esp. ch. 3.

3 Renate Schukies, *Red Hat: Cheyenne Blue Sky Maker and Keeper of the Sacred Arrows* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1993), 288.

4 Non-Cheyenne writers typically call it the "key-hole" design. See, for example, *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 25; Christie's American Indian Art Auction, "A Pair of Cheyenne Beaded Hide Moccasins" (sale 1522/lot 160, 13 June 2005, New York), and Skinner, Inc., "Two Plains Beaded Items" (auction 2319/lot 69, 13 May 2006, Boston).

Cat. 103. *Moccasins*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1900. Tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads, 3 1/2 x 9 1/2 x 4 in. (8.9 x 24.1 x 10.2 cm), each. Danforth Family Collection

Cradles, Toys, and Other Children's Items

Female Doll, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. See cat. 111

Apsáalooke (Crow) Cradleboards

One of my earliest recollections is of my grandmother Amy Bright Wings Red Star (1920–2013) sitting at her sewing machine or beading at the table amid the bustle of family activities, which is why a historical photograph of an Apsáalooke (Crow) woman in her family's tipi with a sewing machine resonates with me (fig. 8-1). As had generations of Apsáalooke women before her, my grandmother sewed for her family and for the community, designing traditional Apsáalooke dresses adorned with elk teeth and beadwork. She was widely known for her beautiful rose-appliquéd shawls and beaded baby moccasins.

When I was a child, my grandmother made me a pair of dolls that represented an elderly Apsáalooke couple. I cherish those dolls and plan to hand them down to my daughter. Amy Bright Wings Red Star was a role model for how to conduct oneself as an Apsáalooke woman. It was through her example that I am able to uphold my cultural traditions and beliefs.

Apsáalooke cradles are among the most highly decorated objects of Apsáalooke material culture. Toy cradleboards, such as the one here (cat. 104), along with miniature tipis and dolls, were given to young girls for play and ultimately to prepare them for their roles as adults. A magnificently decorated cradleboard was started as soon as a woman anticipated an upcoming birth. Aunts and cousins, under the guidance of grandmothers, would help in the creation of the cradleboard. The toy cradle in the Danforth Collection exemplifies how grandmothers and mothers pass down their values and traditions to younger generations.

This toy cradle consists of a flat board that is broadest at its oval top, tapering almost to a point at the bottom. It is covered with soft-dressed buckskin stretched tightly across the back with a loose pocket in the center of the front. This provides both a hood for the doll's head and a covering for its body. When placed inside the pocket, the doll is held firmly in place by three pairs of broad straps. The straps and the

Fig. 8-1. Apsáalooke (Crow) family inside a tipi, c. 1906. Photograph by T. A. Morris, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-134202

Cat. 104. *Toy Cradleboard*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1900. Tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, and wool cloth, 5 × 6 × 23 in. (12.7 × 15.2 × 58.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 109:2015

large flat surface of the board above the doll's head are covered with beadwork. The narrow, curved section below the doll's feet is also beaded. Buckskin fringe adorns the top and bottom edges.

The toy cradle clearly illustrates the powerful contrast of the light-blue beaded background, a color loved by the Apsáalooke, with the buckskin background of the cradle cover. The blue background also showcases the geometric design motif commonly found in Apsáalooke beadwork. While symbolism in Apsáalooke beadwork is unusual, this cradle displays both a star at the base and the "bear eye" motif at the top, both representing the eyes of the constellation "Bear Above" in Apsáalooke astronomy (part of Hercules in the Euro-American tradition). The bear is admired for its strength and bravery, and seen as protective of his home—apt symbolism for the protection afforded by the cradle for the precious occupant within.

– *Wendy Red Star*

A Cheyenne Cradleboard

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) women made fully beaded cradles as tokens of love for Cheyenne children. Customarily, the father's female relatives, often a sister, made the cradle, but sometimes an unrelated woman might also present a child with a cradle. The child's father typically acknowledged this special gift by presenting the cradle maker with a horse.[1]

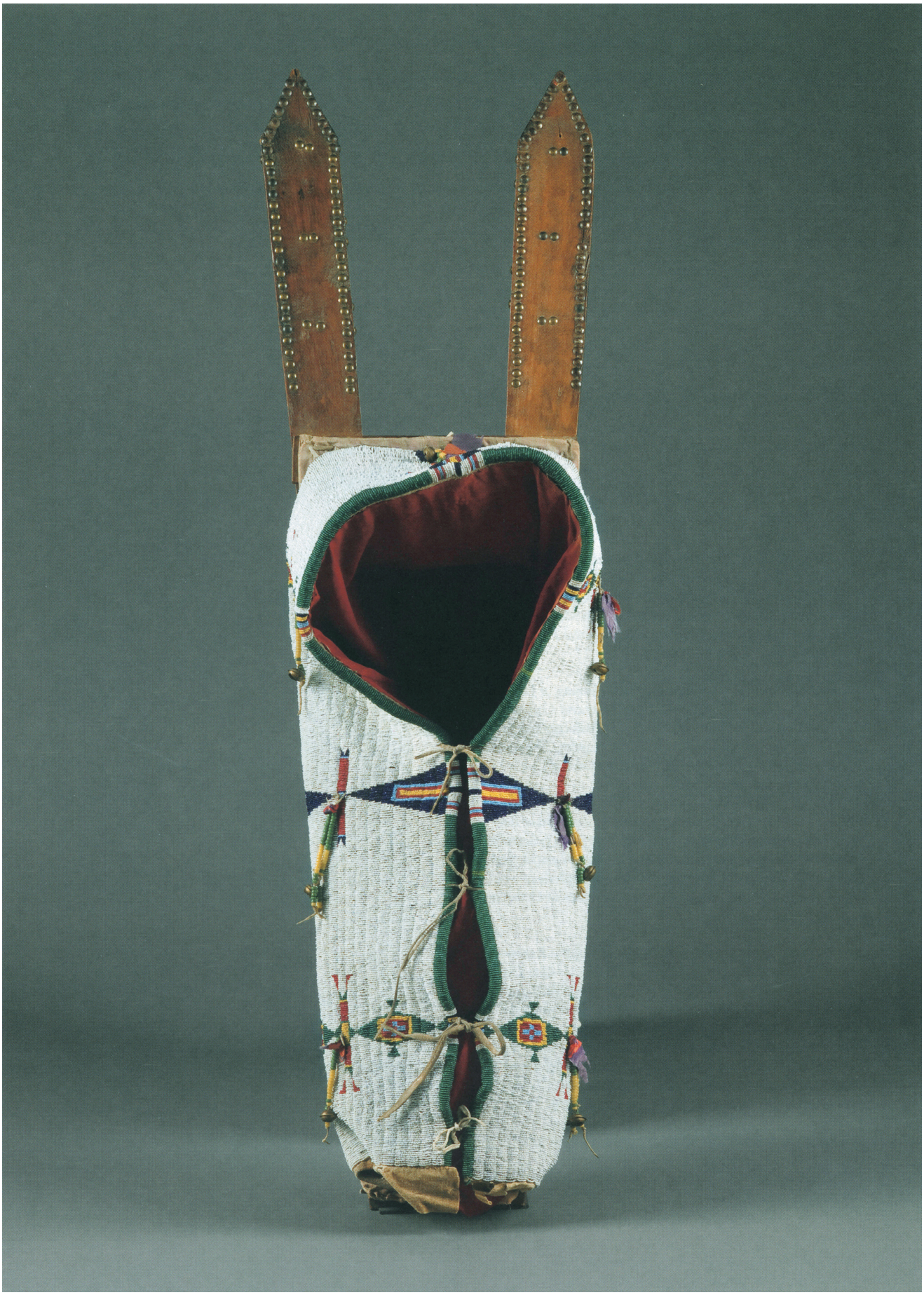
Cheyenne women made at least three different styles of cradles.[2] The example here is of a lattice cradle (cat. 105), with a wooden frame, or lattice, constructed of two pointed upright boards connected by two crosspieces. The maker decorated the boards with brass tacks, and she constructed the cradle cover using tanned hide reinforced with sections of rawhide. The stiff rawhide not only lent the cover a distinctive shape, but also protected the child.[3]

The fully beaded cover, its designs executed in dark blue, dark green, yellow, red, and light blue on a white background, exhibits a number of classic Cheyenne traits. Cheyenne cradle makers favored white backgrounds, perhaps owing to the color's symbolic association with an active life.[4] The artist repeated two distinct designs in an alternating sequence, placing the central element in the sequence atop the cradle's hood, a pattern found on other Cheyenne cradles. The elongated stepped triangle designs also suggest Cheyenne beadwork. Ribbons, Crow beads, and brass hawk bells decorate thongs suspended from the centers of each of the designs (fig. 8-2), another common decorative element on cradles among the Cheyenne.[5]

Lattice cradles were designed to be functional. Cheyenne beadworker Mary Little Bear Inkanish used the term "horseback cradle" to describe this style, in reference to the practice of suspending lattice cradles from the pommels of women's saddles, itself reflective of the equestrian nomadic lifestyle that the Cheyenne practiced throughout much of the nineteenth century.[6]

With her child safely secured in a lattice cradle, a Cheyenne mother was free to go about her daily tasks. While working, she could suspend the cradle from a tree limb or tipi pole, or lean it against a tipi cover or tree. Equipped with a strap, the lattice cradle allowed a woman to wear her child on her back and maintain the use of her hands.

Cat. 105. *Cradleboard*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, cloth, silk, metal tacks, and bells, 45 × 11 × 12 in. (114.3 × 27.9 × 30.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 80:2012



Charlotte Lumpmouth, a contemporary Cheyenne and Hinono'ei (Arapaho) beadworker, has carried on the cradle making tradition. The anticipation surrounding the birth of her first grandson prompted her to make her first cradle. "I thought to myself, 'This is going to be the oldest grandson, so I'm going to make this cradleboard,'" she explains. "I have five children, and for each one of them, I made a cradleboard. It was to go to the first child they had, and in turn, they would be able to use it with their other children."[7] Lumpmouth continues to make cradles, and by last count, she has completed fourteen fully beaded cradles.

– Michael Jordan

Notes

1 Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *Dance Around the Sun: The Life of Mary Little Bear Inkanish, Cheyenne* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 5; and George B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life, Volume 1: History and Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 107–08, 148.

2 Marriott and Rachlin, *Dance Around the Sun*, 4; Barbara A. Hail, *Hau, Kóla: The Plains Indian Collection of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology* (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1980), 143; and Candace Greene, "Soft Cradles of the Central Plains," *Plains Anthropologist* 37 (1992): 96.

3 Barbara A. Hail, "A House for the Beginning of Life," in Hail, ed., *Gifts of Pride and Love: Kiowa and Comanche Cradles* (Bristol: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 23; Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 143–44; and Pieter Hovens, *The Ten Kate Collection 1882–1888: American Indian Material Culture* (Leiden: ZKF Publishers, 2010), 221.

4 Richard Conn, *Native American Art in the Denver Art Museum* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1979), 151; Bernadette Brown, "Cheyenne Cradle, c. 1880," in John Warnock and Marva Warnock, eds., *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 124.

5 Richard Conn, *A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1986), 41–42; Conn, *Native American Art in the Denver Art Museum*, 151; Hail, *Hau, Kóla*, 147; Evan S. Maurer, *The Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1977), 172; Brown, "Cheyenne Cradle, c. 1880" 124–25; and David W. Penney, *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992), 178, 180.

6 Marriott and Rachlin, *Dance Around the Sun*, 5, 77.

7 Charlotte Lumpmouth, interview with the author, Geary, Oklahoma, June 24, 2013.

Fig. 8-2. Side view, cat. 105.

Cheyenne Children's Moccasins

While some forms of Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) moccasins are valued for their simplicity and subtle treatment of color and design, others are meant to make a powerful statement. The artist who made this pair of moccasins for a young girl used bold colors, a strong design on the vamps, and covered the entire surface area, save the tongues and ankle flaps, with beads (cat. 106). A single lane of blue beads runs around the entire perimeter of each moccasin, which creates a dramatic contrast to the white lane just above. The bottoms of the soles are fully beaded, and in the center of each is a bird design. Many Cheyenne today call this an "eagle" design, which draws spiritual energy, or *exhastoz*, to the wearer from *Maheo* (the Allfather or Creator). It is a power symbol meant to confer a special blessing or prayer from the moccasin maker to the child who wears these moccasins.

Cat. 106. *Moccasins*, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads; 5 1/2 x 2 1/2 x 3 in. (14 x 6.4 x 7.6 cm), each. Danforth Family Collection

Donald Danforth Jr.'s eye for collecting is exemplified by his acquisition of this pair of moccasins, with their striking balance of color, intense detail, and added dimension of fully beaded soles. A visual and material representation of love, children's moccasins with beaded soles are not intended for walking; rather, the beaded soles are intended to show that a family will take such good care of the child that "this little girl's family would not let her feet touch the ground."[1] Dressing a child in such extravagantly decorated moccasins expressed the family's love and devotion, and their commitment to honoring and respecting the child throughout her life. Mary Little Bear Inkanish, a well-known moccasin maker in the mid-twentieth century, recounted a story about when she was publicly honored at the age of one by an aunt and given a similar pair of fully beaded moccasins. As her mother later told her, "When you were first shown to the people, you had the best we, your Cheyenne family, could give you."[2] This public act of expressing a family's devotion both honors the child and serves as a commitment on behalf of the family to uphold Cheyenne values.

Among the guiding principles the Cheyenne prophet Sweet Medicine advocated as foundational to the Cheyenne value system is love, a "powerful virtue" for the Cheyenne, according to Henrietta Mann, a respected elder and storyteller. Mann emphasizes that children are thoroughly and openly loved in traditional Cheyenne society, and symbolic acts, such as dressing children in highly decorated moccasins and other fine clothing, are public proclamations of that love.[3]

– John P. Lukavic

Notes

1 Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *Dance Around the Sun: The Life of Mary Little Bear Inkanish, Cheyenne* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977), 6.

2 Ibid.

3 John P. Lukavic, "Southern Cheyenne Orthodoxy: A Study in Materiality" (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 2012), see esp. p. 28 and ch. 1; Henrietta Mann, *Cheyenne-Arapaho Education 1871–1982* (Niwot: University of Colorado, 1997), 2.

Beaded and Quillwork Balls

This beaded ball (cat. 107) appears to be more than an undecorated ball used in a typical children's stick game, such as those made from tanned hide filled with buffalo hair. The beadwork design and colors suggest a Hinono'ei (Arapaho) design; the crosslike form "refers to Morning Star, who is the messenger of the Four Old Men and son of the Moon and Woman Who Climbed to the Sky," and this "Morning Star" design is commonly found on partially beaded Arapaho and Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) moccasins.[1] Like other Plains peoples, star knowledge played an important role in their origin stories.

Traditionally, members of an Arapaho quillwork guild of craftswomen used porcupine quills dyed in the four sacred colors: white, yellow, black, and red. Quilled moccasins, cradle covers, buffalo robes, and tipi ornaments were created under the guidance of the members of this sacred guild. As glass beads were introduced, the meanings of the traditional colors were transferred to these new trade items. The ball here is decorated with red, yellow, and dark blue beads, the latter often used to substitute for black. The undecorated sections of the ball where the hide is exposed could represent white, thus incorporating the four sacred colors into the design.

Parents and close relatives took special delight in making gifts for newborns.[2] It is likely this beaded ball was made not only for the pleasure of a highly favored child but to convey blessing on the child as well.

– *Emil Her Many Horses*

Notes

1 Jeffrey D. Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork: Motion, Life, and Creativity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 80.

2 Richard Conn, *A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days: The L. D. and Ruth Bax Collections of the Denver Art Museum* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 85.

Cat. 107. *Ball*, Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 4 in. (10.2 cm), diameter. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 63:2012

Tapa Wanka Yap: Throwing of the Ball

The beaded ball here (cat. 108) appears to have been created for a special occasion. For the Lakota, similar decorated balls were used in a sacred ceremonial game called *Tapa Wanka Yap* (Throwing of the Ball), which marked the transition of a young woman from adolescence to adulthood, one of the seven rites of the Sacred Pipe of the Lakota people. The pipe itself was brought to the Lakota by a spiritual being called the White Buffalo Calf Woman, who stayed with the people for a period of time and instructed them how to pray with the pipe in times of need. The *Tapa Wanka Yap* ceremony represents the course of a person's life, "which should be spent in trying to get the ball, for the ball represents Wakan-Tanka, or the universe . . . [I]t is very difficult to get the ball, for the odds—which represent ignorance—are against you."[1]

This ball is beaded in such a way that it is divided into four green-beaded sections separated by rows of white beadwork that form two intersecting circles around the ball (fig. 8-3). For the Lakota, green represents Mother Earth, which in tandem with the intersecting beaded circles represent the Lakota concept of the four directions, also interpreted as the four animal nations, four seasons, four stages of life, and the four virtues—wisdom, bravery, fortitude, and generosity.

I have witnessed the *Tapa Wanka Yap* ceremony twice. The first was conducted in summer at Frank Fools Crow's Sun Dance grounds in Kyle, South Dakota, during the late 1980s using a beaded ball that had been returned by a museum. People were asked to gather at the four gates to the Sun Dance circle, or arena, which represented the four directions. From the center of the circle, the beaded ball was thrown in each of the four directions by a woman. The people who gathered at each direction had their hands outstretched to catch the ball. As the ball was caught, it was returned to the person in the circle, symbolizing the return back to Wakan Tanka.

Cat. 108. *Ball*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 2 3/4 in. (7 cm), diameter. Danforth Family Collection

Fig. 8-3. Cat. 108, multiple views.

The second ceremony I witnessed was conducted for my niece Rae Lynn Her Many Horses in 1999 at the Sun Dance held at the Wakpamani Lake community on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. As a young girl, Rae Lynn had been selected to be one of the four Tree Girls, who make the first symbolic chop when the Sacred Sun Dance Tree is being cut down. Rae Lynn would also accompany the Sun Dancers into the sacred circle each morning and out again that day. Now it was time for Rae Lynn to make her transition into adulthood, and the family decided we would conduct three ceremonies for her: *Ishna Ta Awi Cha Lowan*, or the preparing for womanhood; *Tapa Wanka Yap*; and the *Hunka*, or the making of a relative, also known as the Naming Ceremony. I made the beaded ball with a blue background that represented the sky where Wakan Tanka resides, dividing the ball decoration into four sections by a lane of white beads to symbolize the sacred Four Directions. The ball was also divided in the middle with a row of white beads to represent the division of Mother Earth and the Sky. As the ceremony began, Rae Lynn stood in the center with her parents behind her. The Four Directions ceremonial song was sung as groups of people stood at each of the four gates. Rae Lynn tossed the beaded ball to the direction of the west, and the ball was caught and returned to her in the center. She repeated this action in each of the remaining directions. Then the ball was tossed toward the earth and, finally, up toward the sky. When the ceremony was completed, we asked the people who had caught the beaded ball to come and shake hands with my niece and receive a gift of a shawl, a gesture of thanks for their help during this important ceremony marking my niece's transition from childhood to adulthood.

– Emil Her Many Horses

Note

1 Joseph Epes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 127.

Clockwise from top left:

Cat. 109. *Male Doll*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, wood bow, and horsehair, 5 1/4 × 14 × 1 3/4 in. (13.3 × 35.6 × 4.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 53:2012

Cat. 110. *Male Doll*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, cloth, glass seed beads, and horsehair, 14 1/4 × 8 1/4 × 1 3/4 in. (36.2 × 21 × 4.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 73:2010.2

Cat. 111. *Female Doll,* Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, cloth, glass seed beads, and horsehair, 13 1/4 × 6 7/8 × 2 3/4 in. (33.7 × 17.5 × 7 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 73:2010.1

Plains-style Dolls

The three Plains-style dolls here are made of tanned hide, probably deer hide, and stuffed with buffalo hair or cotton batting. The geometric beadwork design and lane-stitch technique clearly depict that all three dolls were made by Lakota artists. The hair on the dolls appears to be horsehair, but it was not unheard of for the maker, likely a mother, aunt, or grandmother, to use her own hair, which was considered to make the gift of the doll a little more precious. The first male doll (cat. 109) is depicted wearing a hide shirt and leggings decorated with strips of beadwork. Among the Lakota, a man wearing a similar shirt would be recognized as an important leader. This style of shirt evolved from the early warrior societies where the men who were selected to lead the warriors in protecting the community earned the designation "Shirt Wearers." Attached to one hand of this doll is a beaded pouch representing a pipe bag, and in the other, a beaded medallion representing a painted shield. A small wooden bow is attached to the back of the doll. These items were used in times of peace and war.

The next two dolls (cats. 110, 111) are not as elaborate, but their facial features and beadwork details suggest they were made by the same person as the first doll. Although the beadwork on both is simpler, they still represent a certain status. The male doll is depicted as wearing a beaded hide-shirt in the style of a leader, while the female doll is shown in a dress with a fully beaded top, indicating highly developed beading skills.

In general, dolls were made not only as playthings but also as a teaching tool. A young girl was being taught that one day she would grow up to care for her own family. Later, Native dolls were made for trade outside Native communities. Today, dolls are highly collectable art forms, with many Native doll makers creating elaborately detailed dolls.

As a contemporary doll maker, I strive to incorporate as much detail as possible in a doll, which could range from ten inches to twenty inches in height. Using small glass beads, it is often a challenge to create the intricate geometric designs of the Lakota with a row of six beads. In today's competitions for makers of Native art, the doll categories are sometimes divided into traditional and contemporary. I try to maintain the traditional style, wherein the bodies of the dolls are made of tanned hide with buffalo hair or cotton batting and no facial features. Other artists utilize new materials, such as clay and carved wood, to create elaborate and realistic looking dolls. Whether making contemporary or traditional dolls, there is great satisfaction in creating a doll that is a miniature version of actual adult-sized clothing.

– Emil Her Many Horses

Apsáalooke (Crow) Amulets

In many native nations, women take great care to preserve the umbilical cords of their children, often storing the cords in a specially created amulet bag or pouch, such as the one here (cat. 112). Natal amulets protect children from evil spirits and are kept throughout life. They also represent the sacred connection between mother and child, as well as between the child and his or her native land. Apsáalooke (Crow) women craft beautifully beaded amulets—turtle shapes for girls and lizards for boys—which are hung from the cradleboard as the child's first toy. Later, the amulet may be attached to the child's clothing, and an amulet's owner often will use it as part of his or her adult regalia as well. The lizard-shaped umbilical cord amulet here has a slit on the underside where the cord was sewn inside. Made from brain-tanned deer hide and natural pigments, the amulet is beaded with white, yellow, and navy blue, as well as with medium-blue glass beads.

– *Wendy Red Star*

Cat. 112. *Umbilical Cord Amulet*, Northern Plains, c. 1890. Tanned hide and glass seed beads, 13 1/4 × 1 3/4 × 5/8 in. (33.7 × 4.4 × 1.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 75:2010

Instruments, Horse Regalia, and Military Gear

Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Two Arrows, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1875.
See cat. 137

Oki' cize-ta'wa (His Fight)

Based on the style of the drawings, this drum was probably produced by Hunkpapa Lakota (Sioux) warrior-artist Oki' cize-ta'wa (His Fight) (cat. 113). Born around 1850, Oki' cize-ta'wa became an accomplished warrior and received spiritual power during his lifetime. He was part of Sitting Bull's band and probably fought against Custer in 1876. He was an accomplished artist as well, producing ledger/sketchbook drawings and also recording his prowess in paintings on muslin.[1] He led a distinguished life serving his people, but perhaps his proudest moment (based on the number of times he recorded it in pictographic form) was when he led a small party of Lakota warriors during the winter to capture more than seventy horses from the Apsáalooke (Crow). According to his own account of the event, he snuck into the Crow camp and cut the tethers that tied the horses to tipi stakes—a brave feat, considering that many of the Crow were in their tipis at the time.

The hand drum here probably depicts the artist mounted on one of his horses, holding a spear. Historically, hand drums were not painted, so it is likely that this work was created for the commercial market rather than for Native use, which was not unusual for many Plains warrior-artists in the early part of the twentieth century. Native peoples were confined to reservations, and government promises never materialized. Communities had to find creative ways to support their families. Many men relied on old techniques and past subject matter to supply works for non-Native collectors. Standing Rock Reservation, where Oki' cize-ta'wa and his people were confined, had help from an unlikely source.

Alfred Welch, a non-Native man who spent many years with the Native peoples of both North and South Dakota during his youth, continued building those relationships throughout his life. He became friends with John Grass, the chief at Standing Rock, who later adopted him as a son. Welch became engrossed with Hunkpapa Lakota culture, befriending many families from the community and learning Lakota songs and dance. Welch was a Shriner, affiliated with the Shriner organization north of Standing Rock in Mandan, North Dakota. Moreover, he formed the Mandan Indian Shriners, a group of non-Native men who wore nineteenth-century Plains Indian clothing and "performed" for Shriner organizations across the country, including in Washington, DC. All of their regalia was commissioned from the people of Standing Rock. Welch was the postmaster in Mandan, and he was influential in city affairs. He made sure the train that carried tourists from the East to West coasts stopped in Mandan, and arranged for members of the Standing Rock community to perform for the tourists. Dressed in full nineteenth-century regalia, the Native people would dance and sing songs on the railroad platform, and sell objects they had made (see fig. 3-19, p. 61). This drum may very well have been originally collected under such circumstances.

– Joe D. Horse Capture

Note

1 Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), plates 59–60, and pp. 387–93. For other works attributed to Oki' cize-ta'wa, or "Jaw" as he was called by his non-Native brother-in-law, see Gilbert Vincent, ed., *Art of the North American Indians: The Thaw Collection* (Cooperstown: Fenimore Art Museum, 2000), 129; and John Warnock and Martha Warnock, eds., *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 51.

Cat. 113. Oki' cize-ta'wa (His Fight) or Cehu'pa (Jaw), Hunkpapa Lakota (Sioux), b. 1850. *Hand Drum*, c.1910. Rawhide, wood, nails, cloth, and pigment, 19 in. (48.3 cm), diameter. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 40:2012

Horse Gear of the Great Plains

Among the native peoples of the Great Plains, the bond with horses remains unbroken. Although we do not depend on horses as we once did for travel, hunting, warfare, and wealth, an enduring bond has been kept alive through our songs, stories, artwork, and prayers. It seems as if horses have always been a major part of my life even though I never owned one. Instead, our connection to horses remains through our family stories and through family beadwork. My own last name and the names of many of the families I grew up with on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Lakota (Sioux) reservations involved horses, names such as Black Spotted Horse, Horse Looking, White Horse, Has No Horse, and American Horse. My last name in the Lakota language is *Tasunka Ota Win*, which translates into English as "Many Horses Woman," the name of my great-great-grandmother. My understanding is that she was given this name because she owned many horses, a sign of prestige. Later, the name would be recorded on the tribal census as Her Many Horses.

Our connection to horses remains strong through the beadwork of my paternal great-grandmother Susie (Blunt Horn) Matthews. She would use horse designs in her beadwork, including beaded horse-head designs on the top of her beaded moccasins and on the tops of women's dresses. She would even adorn the front of men's vests with fully beaded horse designs.

My maternal grandmother, Grace Pourier, was the granddaughter of Baptiste (also known as Big Bat) and Josephine (Richards) Pourier. Born in 1908, my grandmother would tell me stories of being raised by her grandparents on their Horse Head Ranch. The horses themselves on Horse Head were branded on the cheek with a horse-head symbol. My grandmother did not mention having owned elaborate horse gear, but she did commission Ida White Cow Killer, a beadworker from Rosebud, to make a fully beaded saddle blanket, which my grandmother gave to her niece Emma Harris, who used it to decorate her horse in the Frontier Days parade in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in the 1950s.

Beaded saddle blankets were one of the most popular items traditionally created by Lakota beadworkers. These elaborately beaded saddle blankets evolved from animal hides such as those of mountain lion, otter, wolf, or bear, with the legs of the animal left intact. The use of these hides made riding long distances more comfortable. A Lakota beaded saddle blanket in the Danforth Collection (cat. 114) was made in an H-shaped pattern. The four elongated beaded strips hanging from the sides represent the legs of the animal from earlier versions of the saddle blanket.

Some of the most elaborate horse gear was created by Lakota women during the beginning of the Reservation Era. During this forced confinement, artists found the time to create fully beaded horse masks, bridles, saddle blankets, saddle bags, and horse-hoof covers. Even Western-style saddles were fully beaded. Native ceremonies or celebrations were outlawed by the government, but Native people nevertheless participated in state-sanctioned holidays such as the Fourth of July with horses wearing decorated gear. Later, horse gear would be used in the Wild West shows in which many Native people were employed to perform. Many historical photographs from the era show riders and horses dressed in their finest beadwork (fig. 9-1).

Cat. 114. *Saddle Blanket*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Cloth, tanned hide, glass seed beads, and brass bells, 25 × 65 in. (63.5 × 165.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 169:2011

Fig. 9-1. Two girls on horseback, Red Cloud School (Pine Ridge Indian Reservation) or St. Francis Mission (Rosebud Indian Reservation), negative no. 2420. Marquette University Archives & Special Collections, Holy Rosary Mission—Red Cloud Indian School Collection 02939

To cover areas as large as horse gear with elaborate beadwork, Lakota women developed a technique called "lazy stitch," better described as "lane stitch." Rows of eight to twelve beads, depending on the bead size, would be strung and attached to tanned hide to create lanes of beadwork, typically in geometric designs. This technique and design element evolved from traditional porcupine quillwork, for which the Lakota women at one time formed quillwork guilds or societies.

The beadworker who created this saddle blanket (cat. 115) used ten to twelve beaded rows with each row consisting of eight to ten beads. The design element incorporated here is geometric. Although we cannot know with certainty what the designs represent, since no one interviewed the actual maker, contemporary interpretation of the designs suggests them to be a tipi and a four-direction design. The tipi flap element of the design appears to have a U-shape, or horse-track, design. Perhaps the husband of the beadworker captured enemy horses, and this design was incorporated to represent his war deeds. The bead color palette with a white background is a common one for the period. Large amounts of white beads were easier to obtain and thus practical for covering large areas of beadwork. The fringe attached to the elongated beaded strips is unique because it is twisted. This type of fringe was usually found on Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) pipe bags. Perhaps the beadworker was Cheyenne and married into the Lakota tribe, which was common, as the two tribes were allies.

Cat. 115. *Saddle Blanket*, probably Lakota (Sioux), c. 1885. Tanned hide, canvas, glass seed beads, and wool, 14 × 50 in. (35.6 × 127 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 69:2012

Fig 9-2. *Saddle Bag*, Lakota (Sioux) detail, cat. 11

A double saddle bag in the collection (cat. 11), or what I would call a drape saddle bag, is made from a large elongated piece of hide or two hides sewn together. This piece of hide is folded to create an envelope that would be large enough to drape behind the saddle and across the rump of the horse, with its ends hanging evenly on either side. The slit in the drape allows for clothing or other items to be placed on either end.

The bead technique (fig. 9-2) utilized on this drape saddle bag is lane stitch, with thirty rows of beadwork on each side demarcating the saddle bag's sections. There is a decorative three-row band of beadwork running along the back end of the drape. It is difficult to determine what the designs represent, since again, we do not know the intentions of the original artist. However, tribally specific beadwork designs with common interpretations developed within the community of artists. For example, the four larger geometric designs on the outer sections appear to be a triangle-like design with a seven-prong rake or comb-like design. The triangle-like design has been interpreted as a tipi or mountain design, and the rake or comb is often interpreted as a dry-meat rack design. The combination of these two designs would certainly fit within the cultural tradition of a Lakota woman. The center is a circle with a cross-like design. This design could represent the medicine wheel design, an embodiment for the Lakota of the four directions, four seasons, four animal nations, and four virtues. The colors selected for the beadwork could also be interpreted as green for Mother Earth; blue for the sky where the Great Mystery resides or for the west, as blue is often substituted for black and black represents the west; red for the north; yellow for the east; and white for the south. Whether this drape saddle bag was intended to be functional or purely decorative, through its designs and color selections, it nevertheless appears to embody a deep understanding of Lakota spirituality.

Cat. 116. *Quirt*, Plains, c. 1875. Ash wood, rawhide, hide, and glass seed beads, 51 x 7 x 1 in. (17.8 x 2.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 130:2015

Personal items such as riding quirts were usually made from wood or from elk horn (cat. 116). The purpose of the quirt was to urge a horse to move quickly in the hunt or on the war trail.[1] Riding quirts were made to fit the hand of the rider and decorated with a plain or elaborately beaded wrist strap made by a wife or close female relative. Because the quirt was a personal item, the maker was free to decorate it as she saw fit. The quirt would be incised with geometric designs or war deeds. Another purpose of the quirt was to be used in close hand-to-hand combat, where the combatant might "count coup" on his opponent, which is to humiliate your enemy by physically touching him with your hand or quirt.

— *Emil Her Many Horses*

Note

1 Richard A. Pohrt Jr., "Plains Indian Riding Quirts with Elk Antler Handles," *American Indian Art Magazine* 3.4 (1978): 63.

Horse Medicine Bag

This beaded pouch is thought to be associated with horse medicine (cat. 117). If so, it would have contained medicinal plants intended to imbue a horse with spiritual properties. The long straps on the pouch served to suspend it around the horse's neck. The two stacked triangle designs represent eyes, granting the horse another pair with which to encounter the enemy in battle. For the Hinono'ei (Arapaho), the design also represents the cedar tree—pure essence of cleansing power—which would have protected both animal and rider. The white background signifies purification, while the dark blue represents the Arapaho, who called themselves the Blue Sky People. The metal cones show wear and tear, indicating much use.

Horses were an integral part of nineteenth-century Plains Indian life. They transformed warfare and hunting, and served as beasts of burden. It is not surprising, then, that individuals sought spiritual power to assist them in caring for these vital animals. Horse medicine existed in a number of tribes, including the Arapaho, Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), Plains Apache, Numinu (Comanche), Pikuni (Blackfeet), Dakota and Lakota (Sioux), Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé), and Nakota (Assiniboine).[1] Men who possessed the gift of horse medicine relied on rituals, songs, and plant medicines to achieve their ends, which could include healing a sick or injured horse or increasing a horse's stamina or speed.

In the nineteenth century, horse medicine was associated with warfare, specifically protecting the animal in battle and endowing it with speed to pursue and outmaneuver the enemy. Arapaho warriors and their horses shared a tremendous bond, for their fate was often entwined. As they rode into battle, the keen senses of the horse and the man's skill were conjoined. Horse medicine allowed the horse and rider to become one, sharing a single spirit—a profoundly powerful transformation. As the horse exhaled through its nostrils, its breath created a mist around the medicine suspended from its neck. Snorting and inhaling, the horse breathed in the medicine, partaking of its energy and power. In response, white sweat would foam around the broad, thick muscles of the horse's neck.

My grandfather, the late Frank Amos (1899–1970), was a prominent Arapaho rancher, horseman, and ceremonial man. He participated in the Northern Arapaho Sun Dance, as well as other sacred ceremonies, and it was through his participation in these ceremonies that he received the right to doctor horses. My grandfather's skills as a horseman were extraordinary: he was deft at sensing what was wrong with an ailing or injured horse. He would use plant medicines to doctor the animal, and the horse would often recover and heal quickly, responding both physically and spiritually.

My grandfather also had the ability to take a worn-out, unhealthy horse and turn him into the finest horse on the Wind River Reservation. Working tireless hours with a horse amounted to therapy, both physical and spiritual, for animal and trainer alike. Once the horse was nursed back to health, grandfather would train it to become a racehorse. At first, my grandfather entered his horses in local races, eventually taking them to the racetrack; the man and his horses were business partners.

My grandfather used his horse medicine to give his animals a powerful edge. The secret medicine rituals would occur off the track, in the paddock or barn area. My grandfather would sing an Arapaho sacred horse-medicine song to the medicine root and the horse, then he would ceremonially apply the medicine to an eagle down feather and blow the medicine into the horse's nostrils. The eagle feather, believed to give the horse agility and speed, enabling it to fly like an eagle and to float light as a feather, would be tucked away underneath the horse's mane, hidden from exposure. This horse medicine would transform the horse's spirit, endowing him with powerful endurance, as well as protecting the horse and its rider from physical injury. I was told that every time my grandfather performed the ritual, his horse placed first and won the race.

– Gordon Yellowman

Note

1 Thomas W. Kavanaugh, *Comanche Ethnography: Field Notes of E. Adamson Hoebel, Waldo R. Wedel, Gustav G. Carlson, and Robert H. Lowie* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 135; James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 253; George B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life, Volume 2: War, Ceremonies, and Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 141; John Stands In Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 89, 113–14; Patrick J. Munson, "Contributions to Osage and Lakota Ethnobotany," *Plains Anthropologist* 26 (1981), 232; David W. Penney and Janet Stouffer, "Horse Imagery in Native American Art," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 62 (1986), 20; and John C. Ewers, "The Assiniboine Horse Medicine Cult," *Anthropological Quarterly* 29 (1956), 58, 65; and James D. Keyser, "A Thing to Tie on the Halter: An Addition to the Plains Rock Art Lexicon," *Plains Anthropologist* 36 (1991): 265.

Cat. 117. *Horse Medicine Bag*, Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones, 5 1/2 × 3 3/4 in. (14 × 9.5 cm); overall length: 86 in. (218.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 42:2013

Fig. 9-3. Two Apsaalooke (Crow), Bird on the Ground and Forked Iron, on horseback, Montana, c. 1908. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, Library of Congress, Photos, Prints, Drawings LOC93501210

Apsáalooke (Crow) Horse Regalia

In the early eighteenth century, the Apsáalooke (Crow) people acquired horses, and by the nineteenth century had the largest herds on the Northern Plains. The first Apsáalooke horse gear was modeled on Colonial Spanish gear and was intended to protect the horse from enemy arrows, in addition to providing the rider comfort and control. By the early nineteenth century, it was standard for Apsáalooke warhorses to be fully adorned in this protective, beautiful, and useful gear (fig. 9-3).

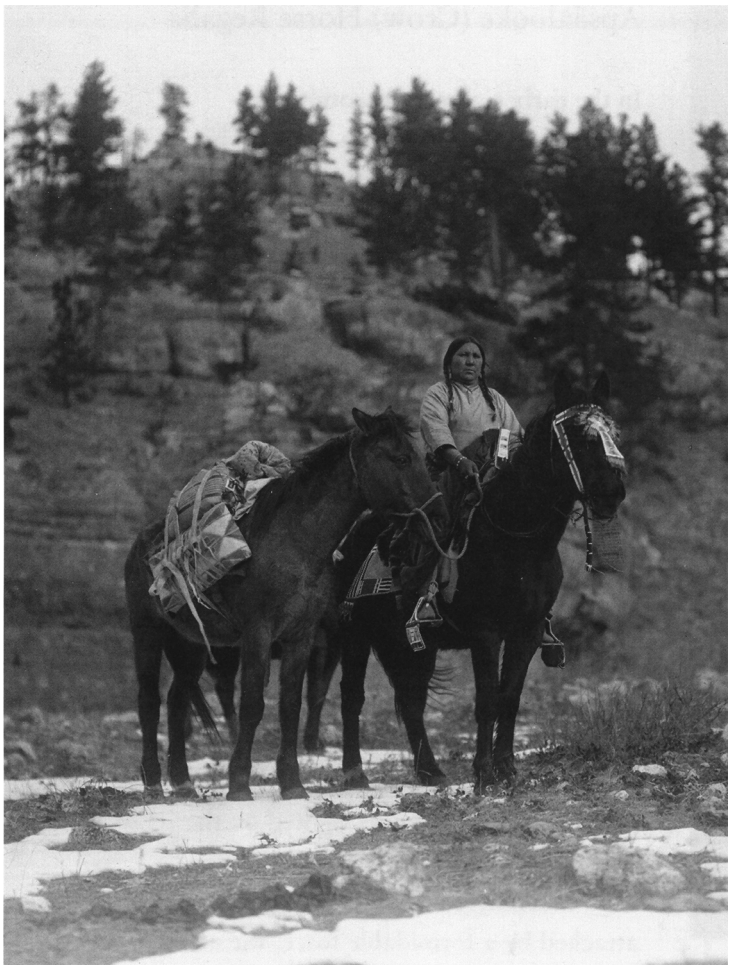
When Apsáalooke camps moved, a warrior's wife would ride a warhorse that was fully dressed in protective gear. Her husband rode another horse bareback or with only a light pad saddle. This way the warrior could swiftly hunt game sighted on the move or quickly fight any enemies the band encountered. Should the caravan be attacked by a formidable force, the men quickly exchanged mounts with their wives.[1]

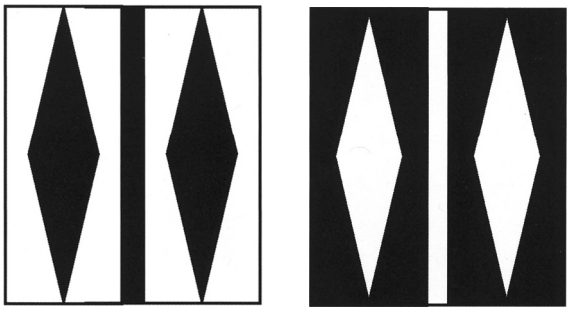
The leather armor that horses wore into battle was no match for the guns and ammunition widely used across the Plains by the 1860s. As the traditional horse gear lost its effectiveness in battle, it was nonetheless valued as adornment, a change that prompted horse gear to become almost solely associated with women, who ornamented it with beads, wool cloth, and long fringe (fig. 9-4).

The Danforth Collection contains an Apsáalooke martingale, forehead ornament, two leather saddle bags, and a drape saddle bag (cats. 118–22). The martingale, or breast collar, was originally intended to block arrows from hitting the chest of the horse. The martingale here is beaded in typical Apsáalooke geometric designs in vivid colors of blues, reds, yellows, and greens sewn to red wool mounted on a hide base. The central panel exhibits the visual interplay of background and foreground characteristic of Apsáalooke designs (fig. 9-5).

Martingales are physical manifestations of the Apsáalooke homeland. The three triangles that appear on the vertical straps represent the three mountain ranges on what is today the Crow Indian Reservation

Cat. 118. *Martingale*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1900. Tanned hide, wool, cloth, glass seed beads, and brass bells, 37 × 16 in. (94 × 40.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 80:2010



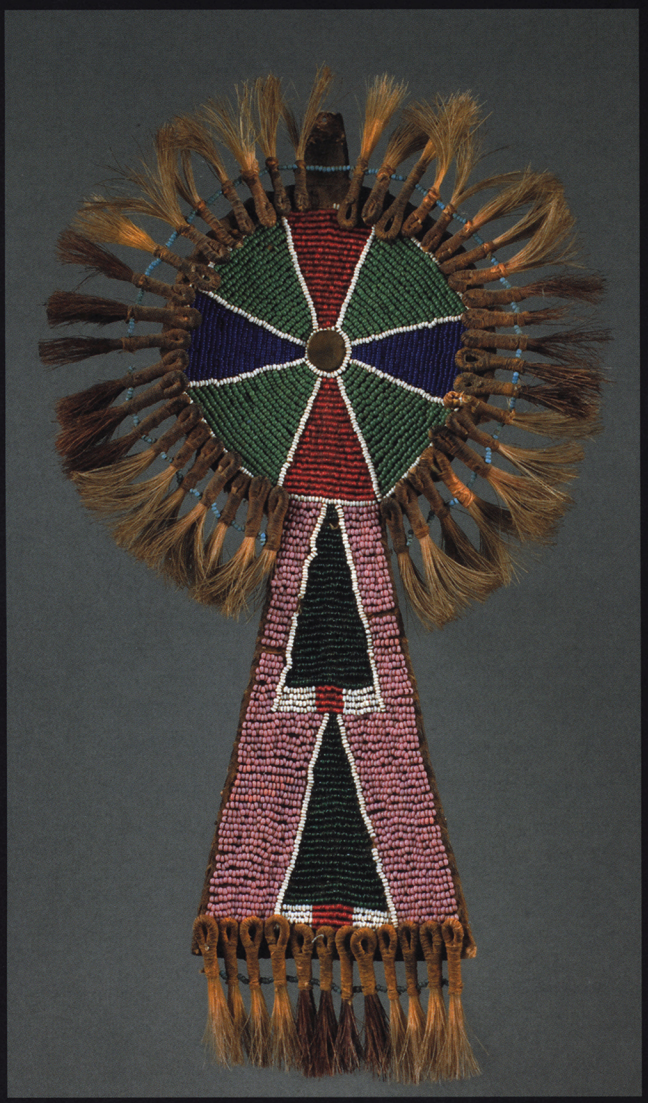


Above: Fig. 9-5. Drawing of central panel juxtaposition on cat. 118 by Timothy P. McCleary

Left: Fig. 9-4. Apsáalooke (Crow) woman on horseback, pack horse beside her, c. 1908. Photograph by Edward S. Curtis, Library of Congress Photos, Prints, Drawings, LOC 2002722317

in Montana: *Baáhpuuo*, or Where They Shoot The Rock (Pryor Mountains); *Iisaxpúatahchee Isawaxaawúua*, or The Bighorn Sheep's Mountains (Bighorn Mountains); and *Cheétiish*, or Wolf's Teeth (Wolf Mountains).

The Apsáalooke names for the horse forehead ornament provide clues to its origin. Men call these ornaments *axxíabaaloope* ("forehead crescent"), which appears to be a reference to the silver *naja* that Moors and Colonial Spanish hung from the forehead strap of their bridles to protect their horses in battle. Apsáalooke women call these items *isbaapihpée* ("the horse's plaited and fringed fabric"), a likely allusion to the woven and tasseled *mosquero*, or fly fringe, made from horsehair tassels attached by Colonial Spanish to the browband of their horses. The Apsáalooke head ornament in the collection is beaded on a piece of hide with horsehair looped and sewn around the circular and bottom edge.



Cat. 119. *Headstall Ornament*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1890. Rawhide, glass seed beads, metal, and horsehair, 12 3/4 × 7 in. (32.4 × 17.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 74:2010

Cat. 120. *Saddle Bag*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1900. Tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, silk, and brass bells, 116 × 28 in. (294.6 × 71.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 72:2010

Fig. 9-6. Young Apsáalooke (Crow) women in the Crow Fair parade, 2012. Photograph by John Zumpano © john zumpano/ JZphotoArt.com

Women across the Great Plains made saddle bags in a variety of shapes and from various materials. Unique to the Apsáalooke are ones made from tanned leather and beaded in banded rows, often less than a foot in length. They are simply called *baaísshikshe* ("a bag to store things"), what one elder translated as "my purse!" These saddle bags held items that a woman might need readily at hand, whether on horseback or in camp, such as a strike-a-light, awl, sinew, paring knife, and medicinal herbs. This kind of saddle bag usually had tabs on the bottom corners, which were used as toggles to fully secure the bag to the horse. A girl's toy saddle bag (cat. 123) has these tabs and additional leather thongs at the corners. In the Native world, toys were not only for the amusement of children but also for instruction on how to properly make items of practical use. In this case, the tabs are a reminder that saddle bags sometimes needed to be further tied down to keep them secure in travel.

Another saddle bag is called *baachikiipé* ("narrow in the middle"), commonly known in English as a "drape saddle bag." These are formed from a long tube of leather or canvas with an opening in the top so items can be slipped in and out of either side. This type of saddle bag was popular among people of the Northwest Plateau, and the Apsáalooke people likely learned how to make them from other local Native trading partners. Apsáalooke examples of drape saddle bags are rare, and the one in the Danforth Collection is one of the finest historical examples in a public collection. The dark blue wool appears to be from a military blanket, while the red is standard trade wool. The bold colors and strong, simple geomentric designs in the beadwork are characteristic of the Apsáalookes. The brass, or "hawk," bells along the base of the fringe accentuate this beautiful piece, adding an aural dimension to the visual display.

The Apsáalookes today continue to take pride in their horsemanship and in the production of Native horse gear (fig. 9-6). Every morning at the annual Crow Fair, girls and women parade on their favorite horses, recalling the caravans of their ancestors.

— *Timothy P. McCleary*

Note

1 The majority of the information that follows here was provided by Apsáalooke people, including but not limited to JoAnn Horn, Luella (White Man Runs Him) Johnson, Barney Old Coyote Jr., Dan Old Elk, Dale Old Horn, Richard Real Bird, Guy White Clay, and Vernon "Buzzy" White Clay III. See also Frank Linderman, *Pretty Shield: Medicine Woman of the Crows* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

Clockwise from top left:

Cat. 121. *Saddle Bag*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1885. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth, 13 1/2 x 8 1/2 in. (34.3 x 21.6 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 122. *Saddle Bag*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth, 7 × 11 × 1 in. (17.8 × 27.9 × 2.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 165:2011

Cat. 123. *Miniature Saddle Bag*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1900. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment, 6 × 5 1/4 in. (15.2 × 13.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 65:2012

Knife Cases

Among the Native peoples of the Great Plains, some of the most utilitarian items became objects to envelop in remarkable beauty. Men and women would keep knives—and before knives, sharp bones for cutting—nearby at all times and would wear them at the waist for easy access. Women would construct knife cases for these indispensable tools of daily life (cats. 124–32), arraying these cases with beads, quills, tinklers, and sometimes bells. The cases would be attached to long belts made from quills, hide, and, later, silver conchos. Lakota belts would hang to the right, with the knife in its case positioned to the left. Knife cases were accompanied by a strike-a-light or flint bag and sometimes an awl. The knife case is so aesthetically important to regalia that many women continue to wear one as a part of their regalia today.

In Lakota, it is not only men and women who wear knife cases; a knife wears its case as well. In the Lakota language, a knife in its sheath is called *mila ozuhatuya*, or "knife having its own case; wearing it."[1] The knife case would be carefully constructed to fit its knife perfectly, as indicated by the variety of sizes and shapes here. Women's cases in many Plains communities often have an elegant curve at the tip of the case, as in catalogue 126.

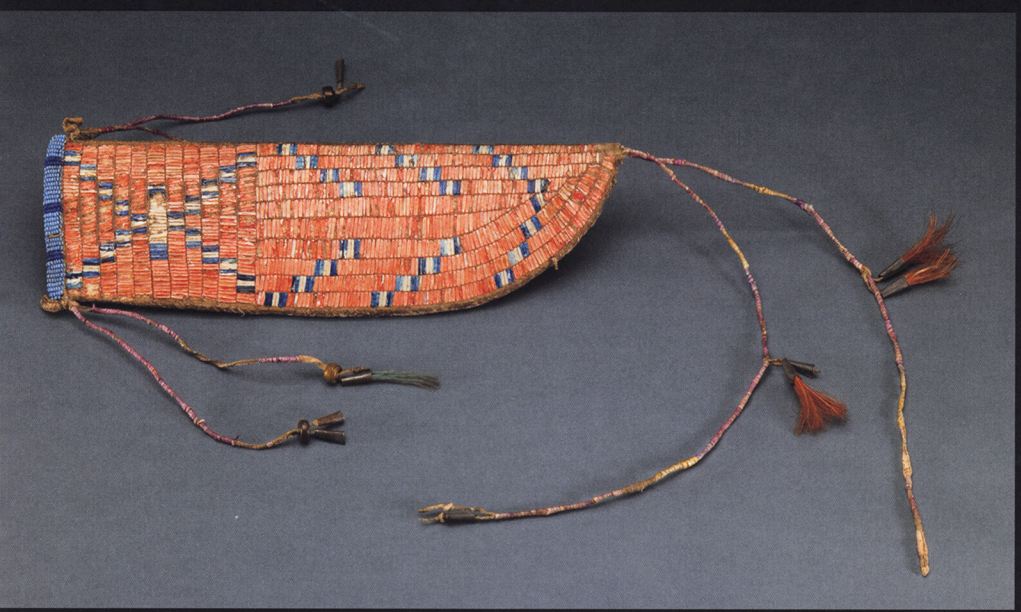
– Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Note

1 Ella Cara Deloria, "Dakota Terms for Museum Objects" (unpublished manuscript commissioned by the U.S. Department of Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Rapid City, SD, 1960, in the archives of Arthur Amiotte).

Cat. 124. *Knife Case and Knife*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and knife, 2 3/4 x 8 3/4 in. (7 x 22.2 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 125. *Knife Case and Knife*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, tanned leather, glass seed beads, tin cones, brass beads, and butcher knife, 2 3/4 x 9 1/2 in. (7 x 24.1 cm). Danforth Family Collection

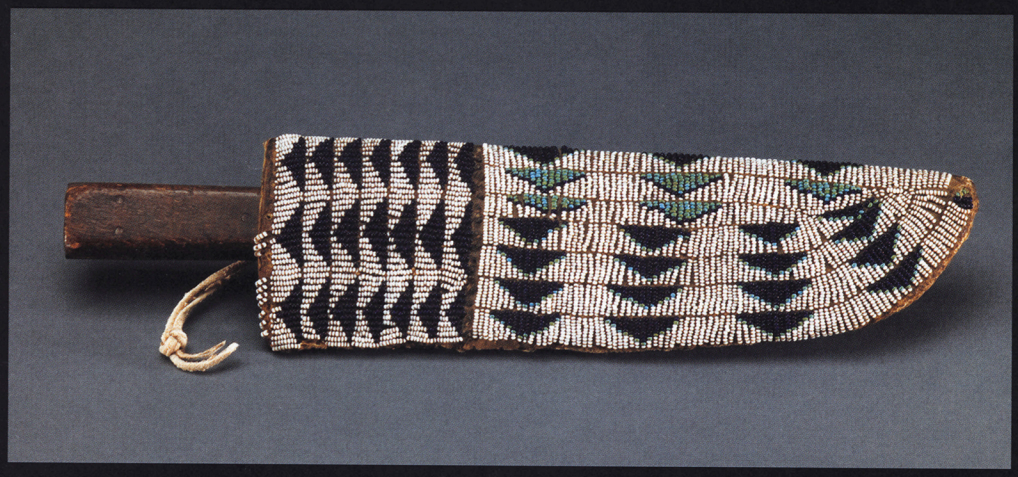


Clockwise from top left:
Cat. 126. *Knife Case*, Possibly Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, glass beads, and tin cones, 2 × 10 3/4 (5.1 × 27.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 74:2013

Cat. 127. *Knife Case and Knife*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and sinew; 2 3/4 x 10 in. (7 x 25.4 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 128. *Knife Case and Knife*, Pikuni (Blackfeet) or possibly Cree, c. 1890. Leather, glass seed beads, felt, and knife, 10 1/4 × 3 1/4 in. (26 × 8.3 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 57:2012a,b

Cat. 129. *Knife Case*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, metal beads, and dyed horsehair, 2 7/8 × 21 1/2 in. (7.3 × 54.6 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 44:2012



Clockwise from top left:
Cat. 130. *Knife Case and Knife*, Great Plains, c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass beads, and knife, 1 1/16 × 10 in. (2.7 × 25.4 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 176:2011a,b

Cat. 131. *Knife Case*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1890. Tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and porcupine quills, 6 3/4 x 12 in. (17.1 x 30.5 cm). Danforth Family Collection

Cat. 132. *Knife Case and Knife*, Cree, c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and knife, 2 × 12 1/2 in. (5.1 × 31.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 56:2012a,b

Cat. 133. *Gun Case*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1890. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth, 56 1/2 × 6 1/2 in. (143.5 × 16.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 173:2011

Hide and Beads: Adorning Bow and Gun Cases

Among the rarest items in the Danforth Collection are cases made for bows, arrows, and guns. Each case displays a sparing use of beads, allowing the beauty of the natural hides to remain the focal point. Most of the cases include delicate finishing of fringe or hems of red cloth. The Apsáalooke (Crow) gun case (cat. 133) has a full hide of fringe attached, which would sway with the wearer's movements on horseback. Hair remains on much of the hide of the Numinu (Comanche) bow case and quiver (cat. 134), imbuing these vital implements for the hunt with the power and swiftness of the animal. Yellow ocher, a mineral pigment associated with ceremonial use, is painted onto the Southern Plains Inde (Apache) bow case and quiver (cat. 135). The Apsáalooke (Crow) bow case and quiver (cat. 138) is also painted; its pink stripes may have indicated particular war or hunting accomplishments of the owner.

– Jill Ahlberg Yohe

Cat. 134. *Bow Case and Quiver*, Numinu (Comanche), c. 1870. Tanned hide, animal hair, glass seed beads, canvas, cloth, and sinew, 34 × 44 in. (86.4 × 111.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 125:2015

Cat. 135. *Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Six Arrows*, Southern Plains Inde (Apache), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, pigment, wood, string, metal, and feathers; bow case: 33 x 44 in. (83.8 x 111.8 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 186:2011a–h

Top left:
Cat. 136. *Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Three Arrows*, Tsistsistas/Suhati (Cheyenne) or Lakota (Sioux), c. 1880. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, wood, metal, and feathers, length: 39 in. (99.1 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 108:2015a–e

Bottom left:
Cat. 137. *Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Two Arrows*, Lakota (Sioux), c. 1875. Tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, wood, string, feathers, metal, and pigment, length: 38 in. (96.5 cm). Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 91:2015a–d

Above:
Cat. 138. *Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Three Arrows*, Apsáalooke (Crow), c. 1870. Tanned hide, glass seed beads, wood, feathers, metal, and pigment, length: 111.8 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, The Donald Danforth Jr. Collection, Gift of Mrs. Donald Danforth Jr. 179:2011a–e

Checklist

The following checklist contains the entire Donald Danforth Jr. Collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum. Headings reflect groupings as they appear in the catalogue, and subheadings distinguish more specific types of objects. Within each subgrouping the checklist reads vertically, proceeding geographically from north to south.

Quillwork

Lakota (Sioux)
Spoon, 20th century
buffalo horn and porcupine quills
3 × 10 3/4 in. (7.6 × 27.3 cm)
51:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Bag, c.1885
leather, porcupine quills,
glass seed beads, and tin cones
10 × 7 1/2 in. (25.4 × 19.1 cm)
109:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Pair of Miniature Tipi Bags, c.1890
tanned hide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair
each: 1 3/4 × 2 in. (4.4 × 5.1 cm)
62:2012a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Cup, c.1900
metal, rawhide, porcupine quills,
glass seed beads, dyed horsehair, tin cones, feathers, and cotton cloth
4 × 3 in. (10.2 × 7.6 cm)
89:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Bag, c.1910
tanned hide, porcupine quills,
feathers, and tin cones
13 × 8 1/2 in. (33 × 21.6 cm)
110:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Toy Cradle, c.1890
tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, feathers, and brass bells
15 1/2 × 7 1/2 × 6 in.
(39.4 × 19.1 × 15.2 cm)
67:2010

Pipe Bags and Pipes

PIPE BAGS

Cree
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, canvas, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth
24 × 6 1/4 in. (61 × 15.9 cm)
77:2013

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and brass wire
33 × 5 3/8 in. (83.8 × 13.7 cm)
48:2012

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, and pigment
39 1/2 × 5 1/4 in. (100.3 × 13.3 cm)
185:2011

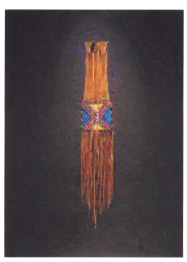
Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
33 × 5 1/2 in. (83.8 × 14 cm)
76:2013

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, canvas, and glass seed beads
28 × 5 3/4 in. (71.1 × 14.6 cm)
94:2010

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Pipe Bag, c.1900
tanned hide and glass seed beads
22 1/2 × 7 in. (57.2 × 17.8 cm)
107:2015

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
21 × 5 in. (53.3 × 12.7 cm)
43:2013

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
19 × 3 7/8 in. (48.3 × 9.8 cm)
78:2013



Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, brass beads, brass wire, and pigment
41 1/2 × 7 in. (105.4 × 17.8 cm)
180:2011

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Pipe Bag, 20th century
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, wool yarn, and hawk bells
28 × 8 in. (71.1 × 20.3 cm)
82:2010

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
18 × 4 in. (45.7 × 10.2 cm)
73:2013

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
18 × 4 1/2 in. (45.7 × 11.4 cm)
79:2013

Pipe Bags and Pipes *continued*

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pipe Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
and porcupine quills
24 1/2 × 5 in. (62.2 × 12.7 cm)
68:2013

Lakota / Dakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed
beads, brass beads, porcupine quills,
and tin cones
37 1/2 × 7 1/2 in. (95.3 × 19.1 cm)
93:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
23 × 5 1/2 in. (58.4 × 14 cm)
41:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
and pigment
33 × 7 in. (83.8 × 17.8 cm)
41:2013

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
25 1/2 × 6 1/8 in. (64.8 × 15.6 cm)
69:2013

Lakota / Dakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
21 × 7 3/4 in. (53.3 × 19.7 cm)
84:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads,
metallic beads, and porcupine quills
42 × 7 1/2 in. (106.7 × 19.1 cm)
70:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed
beads, and porcupine quills
39 × 5 3/8 in. (99.1 × 13.7 cm)
88:2013

Hidatsa, or Namakiki (Mandan),
or Sahnish (Arikara)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine
quills, and pigment
35 × 6 1/4 in. (88.9 × 15.9 cm)
87:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
31 × 5 1/2 in. (78.7 × 14 cm)
86:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, porcupine quills, glass
seed beads, tin cones, and feathers
39 × 5 1/2 in. (99.1 × 14 cm)
73:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
tin cones, and pigment
17 1/2 × 5 1/2 in. (44.5 × 14 cm)
69:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
rawhide, and porcupine quills
39 × 5 in. (99.1 × 12.7 cm)
82:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
rawhide, and porcupine quills
35 × 5 1/4 in. (88.9 × 13.3 cm)
97:2015

probably Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and horsehair
27 × 5 1/2 in. (68.6 × 14 cm)
98:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
porcupine quills, and sinew
45 1/2 × 6 3/4 in. (115.6 × 17.1 cm)
92:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
38 × 5 3/8 in. (96.5 × 13.7 cm)
99:2015

Lakota (Sioux), or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pipe Bag, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
24 1/2 × 5 5/8 in. (62.2 × 14.3 cm)
94:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads,
rawhide, and porcupine quills
36 1/2 × 6 5/8 in. (92.7 × 16.8 cm)
93:2015

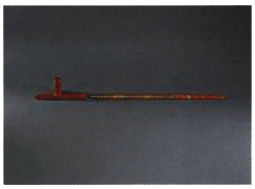
Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, porcupine quills,
and glass seed beads
38 × 8 1/2 in. (96.5 × 21.6 cm)
81:2010

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pipe Bag, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
18 × 4 1/8 in. (45.7 × 10.5 cm)
95:2015

Pipe Bags and Pipes *continued*

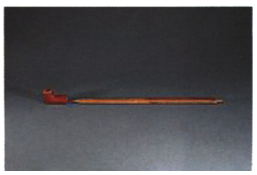
PIPES

Plains
Pipe Bowl and Stem, c.1890
ash wood, catlinite, and brass tacks
4 × 23 in. (10.2 × 58.4 cm)
114:2015a,b



Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bowl and Stem, c.1890
catlinite, ash wood, porcupine quills, and brass tacks
4 1/4 × 33 1/2 × 1 1/4 in.
(10.8 × 85.1 × 3.2 cm)
178:2011a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Stem, c.1890
ash wood
1 1/2 × 22 3/4 in. (3.8 × 57.8 cm)
183:2011



Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bowl and Stem, c.1890
ash wood and catlinite
2 1/2 × 19 in. (6.4 × 48.3 cm)
76:2015a,b

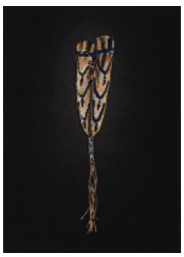
Lakota (Sioux)
Pipe Bowl, c.1920
catlinite and lead
3 7/8 × 7 1/4 in. (9.8 × 18.4 cm)
76:201

Pouches, Tipi Bags, Parfleches, and Other Containers

SMALL CONTAINERS

Plains
Pouch, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
3 1/2 × 2 1/4 in. (8.9 × 5.7 cm)
78:2015

Northern Plains
Umbilical Cord Amulet, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
13 1/4 × 1 3/4 × 5/8 in.
(33.7 × 4.4 × 1.6 cm)
75:2010



Plains
Pouch, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and metal beads
16 × 2 3/4 in. (40.6 × 7 cm)
65:2013

Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé)
Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, corn husk, glass seed beads, glass beads, and shell beads
16 × 5 1/2 in. (40.6 × 14 cm)
85:2015

Plains
Pouch, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, iron chain, and pigment
6 1/2 × 4 1/2 in. (16.5 × 11.4 cm)
91:2010

probably Apsáalooke (Crow) or Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé)
Mirror Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, glass pony beads, and wool cloth
21 1/2 x 7 in. (54.6 x 17.8 cm)
50:2012

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Pouch, c.1900
tanned hide, leather, glass seed beads, and pigment
diameter: 5 1/2 in. (14 cm)
54:2012

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Strike-a-Light Case, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, brass beads, tin cones, and brass tacks
4 × 4 1/2 in. (10.2 × 11.4 cm)
88:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Pouch, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
6 × 2 3/4 × 1/2 in.
(15.2 × 7 × 1.3 cm)
64:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Mirror Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, brass hawk bells, shell buttons, porcupine quills, and dyed feathers
21 × 5 1/4 in. (53.3 × 13.3 cm)
174:2011

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Belt Pouch, c.1890
hide, glass seed beads, brass beads, and tin cones
8 × 5 1/4 in. (20.3 × 13.3 cm)
129:2015

Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Awl Case, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
20 1/4 × 1 × 3/4 in. (51.4 × 2.5 × 1.9 cm)
67:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Calf Head Bag, c.1900
calf skin, tanned hide, glass seed beads, buffalo horns, and tin cones
15 1/2 × 9 in. (39.4 × 22.9 cm)
100:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Strike-a-Light Case, c.1875
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and sinew
5 1/2 × 4 7/8 in. (14 × 12.4 cm)
128:2015

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Whetstone Case, c.1875
leather, glass seed beads, and sinew
6 × 2 × 1/2 in. (15.2 × 5.1 × 1.3 cm)
126:2015a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Awl Case, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed feathers
25 1/2 × 1 1/4 in. (64.8 × 3.2 cm)
97:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Bladder Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, bladder skin, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, and dyed horsehair
11 3/4 x 6 1/2 x 3 in.
(29.8 x 16.5 x 7.6 cm)
88:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Dispatch Case, c.1890
leather and glass seed beads
15 × 8 3/4 in. (38.1 × 22.2 cm)
72:2013

Pouches, Tipi Bags, Parfleches, and Other Containers *continued*

SMALL CONTAINERS

probably Lakota (Sioux)
Dispatch Case, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, and tin cones
12 1/4 × 7 in. (31.1 × 17.8 cm)
85:2013

Ute
Paint Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
13 × 2 1/8 in. (33 × 5.4 cm)
66:2013

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Dispatch Case, c.1890
leather, tanned hide, glass seed beads, glass beads, tin cones, horsehair, nickelsilver conchos, and pigment
29 × 8 in. (73.7 × 20.3 cm)
39:2012

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pouch, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair
7 × 3 in. (17.8 × 7.6 cm)
77:2015

Southern Plains
Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
4 1/4 × 2 3/8 in. (10.8 × 6 cm)
105:2015

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Awl Case, c.1880
leather, glass seed beads, and metal beads
14 3/4 × 3/4 × 1/4 in.
(37.5 × 1.9 × 0.6 cm)
78:2010

probably Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Strike-a-Light Case, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, metallic beads, tin cones, and silver button
6 1/2 × 3 5/8 in. (16.5 × 9.2 cm)
49:2012

Southern Plains
Pouch, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
12 × 8 1/2 in. (30.5 × 21.6 cm)
86:2010

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Awl Case, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
13 3/4 in. × 1 1/2 in. × 1 in.
(34.9 × 3.8 × 2.5 cm)
50:2013

TIPI BAGS

Lakota (Sioux)
Tipi Bag, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, tubular beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
6 1/2 × 10 × 1 1/2 in.
(16.5 × 25.4 × 3.8 cm)
64:2010.1

Lakota (Sioux)
Tipi Bag, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, tubular beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
6 1/2 x 10 x 1 1/2 in.
(16.5 x 25.4 x 3.8 cm)
64:2010.2

Lakota (Sioux)
Tipi Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
12 × 20 × 5 in.
(30.5 × 50.8 × 12.7 cm)
164:2011

PARFLECHES

Lakota (Sioux)
Tipi Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
11 1/2 × 22 × 5 in.
(29.2 × 55.9 × 12.7 cm)
79:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pair of Tipi Bags, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and wool yarn
each: 12 1/2 × 14 × 1 7/8 in.
(31.8 × 35.6 × 4.8 cm)
112:2015a,b

Lakota (Sioux) or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Tipi Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair
13 × 20 × 5 1/4 in.
(33 × 50.8 × 13.3 cm)
47:2012

Plains
Parfleche, 20th century
rawhide, leather, and pigment
12 1/2 x 12 x 2 1/2 in.
(31.8 x 30.5 x 6.4 cm)
92:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Tipi Bag, c.1885
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
14 x 22 x 3 1/2 in.
(35.6 x 55.9 x 8.9 cm)
166:2011

Lakota (Sioux) or possibly Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Tipi Bag, c.1875
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and sinew
10 x 18 x 2 1/2 in.
(30.5 x 53.3 x 12.7 cm)
45:2012

Plains or Plateau
Parfleche, 20th century
rawhide, tanned hide, and pigment
6 1/2 × 8 3/4 × 1 1/8 in.
(16.5 × 22.2 × 2.9 cm)
111:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Pair of Tipi Bags, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, dyed horsehair, tin cones, and sinew
a: 10 1/2 × 15 in. × 3 1/2 in.
(26.7 × 38.1 × 8.9 cm)
b: 9 1/2 × 15 in. × 3 in.
(24.1 × 38.1 × 7.6 cm)
87:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux) or possibly Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Tipi Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and dyed horsehair
16 x 24 x 5 in. (40.6 x 61 x 12.7 cm)
46:2012

Transmontane or Western Plateau
Parfleche, c.1880
rawhide, leather, and pigment
28 1/4 x 15 1/2 x 4 1/2 in.
(71.8 x 39.4 x 11.4 cm)
107:2010

PARFLECHES

Western Plateau
Parfleche, c.1880
rawhide, leather, and pigment
27 1/2 x 14 x 3 3/4 in.
(69.9 x 35.6 x 9.5 cm)
106:2010

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Parfleche, c.1885
rawhide, leather, and pigment
23 1/2 x 14 in.
(59.7 x 35.6 cm)
96:2013

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Parfleche, c.1880
rawhide, leather, and pigment
10 1/4 x 6 x 1 1/4 in.
(26 x 15.2 x 3.2 cm)
98:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
11 1/2 x 6 3/4 in.
(29.2 x 17.1 cm)
51:2013

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
23 x 13 1/2 x 3 3/4 in.
(58.4 x 34.3 x 9.5 cm)
104:2010

Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
27 x 13 in. x 3 1/2 in.
(68.6 x 33 x 8.9 cm)
175:2011

Apsáalooke (Crow) or Plateau
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, pigment, and copper alloy beads
9 1/2 × 3 1/2 in. (24.1 × 8.9 cm)
115:2015

Shoshone
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
27 x 12 x 4 5/8 in.
(68.6 x 30.5 x 11.7 cm)
108:2010

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
28 x 16 x 5 in.
(71.1 x 40.6 x 12.7 cm)
105:2010

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, leather, and pigment
26 1/2 × 12 × 3 in.
(67.3 × 30.5 × 7.6 cm)
95:2013

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Parfleche, c.1890
rawhide, tanned hide, wool cloth, and pigment
19 1/2 x 13 x 3 in.
(49.5 x 33 x 7.6 cm)
93:2013

Clothing and Moccasins

GARMENTS

Yanktonai (Sioux)
Shirt, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
27 x 23 in. (68.6 x 58.4 cm)
37:2012

Southern Plains Inde (Apache)
Dress, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
top: 44 x 20 in. (111.8 x 50.8 cm)
skirt: 42 x 28 in. (106.7 x 71.1 cm)
99:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Man's Jacket, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
27 1/2 x 23 x 7 in.
(69.9 x 58.4 x 17.8 cm)
79:2010

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Girl's Dress, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, animal bone, mescal beans, wool cloth, tin cones, nickelsilver button, and pigment
29 1/2 x 24 in. (74.9 x 61 cm)
184:2011

LEGGINGS

probably Nimi'ipuu (Nez Percé)
Man's Leggings, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, dyed horsehair, wool cloth, and pigment
each: 32 x 24 1/2 in. (81.3 x 62.2 cm)
98:2010a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Woman's Leggings, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, pigment, and sinew
each: 28 1/2 x 9 1/2 in.
(72.4 x 24.1 cm)
48:2013a,b

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Girl's Leggings, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, and cotton cloth
a: 12 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. (31.8 x 16.5 cm)
b: 12 1/2 x 7 in. (31.8 x 17.8 cm)
71:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Boy's Leggings, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, glass beads, and sinew
a: 12 x 13 1/2 in. (30.5 x 34.3 cm)
b: 14 1/2 x 13 1/2 in. (36.8 x 34.3 cm)
86:2015a,b

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Woman's Leggings, c.1900
tanned hide, wool cloth, and glass seed beads
each: 19 x 6 1/2 in. (48.3 x 16.5 cm)
71:2012a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Girl's Leggings and Moccasins, c.1890
leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and metallic beads
each legging: 8 1/2 x 2 1/2 in.
(21.6 x 6.4 cm)
each moccasin: 7 x 3 x 1 1/2 in.
(17.8 x 7.6 x 3.8 cm)
77:2010a–d

Clothing and Moccasins *continued*

LEGGINGS

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Boy's Leggings, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, cloth, and pigment
each: 27 × 8 in. (68.6 × 20.3 cm)
92:2010a,b

Southern Plains Inde (Apache)
Man's Leggings, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
34 × 8 1/2 × 3 1/4 in.
(86.4 × 21.6 × 8.3 cm)
70:2013a,b

PERSONAL ADORNMENTS

Plains
Roach and Spreader, c.1890
deer and porcupine hair, cloth, tanned hide, bone, tin cone, and wood
16 × 13 × 16 in. (40.6 × 33 × 40.6 cm)
81:2015

Plains
Dewclaw Bandolier, c.1880
leather, glass beads, and dewclaws
37 × 14 in. (94 × 35.6 cm)
94:2013

Plains
Necklace, c.1900
horse teeth, glass beads, and sinew
1 1/2 × 20 1/2 in. (3.8 × 52.1 cm)
113:2015

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Necklace, c.1880
leather, tanned hide, glass seed beads, brass beads, and brass tacks
20 x 10 1/2 in. (50.8 x 26.7 cm)
80:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Breastplate, c.1900
bone hairpipe beads, brass beads, glass beads, leather, mirror and brass token
15 x 14 x 1 in.
(38.1 x 35.6 x 2.5 cm)
59:2012

probably Lakota (Sioux)
Breastplate, c.1890
leather, tanned hide, bone hairpipe beads, and copper alloy beads
22 x 11 1/2 in. (55.9 x 29.2 cm)
101:2015

probably Lakota (Sioux)
Hair Ornament, c.1890
tanned hide, porcupine quills, brass beads, brass thimbles, and shell hairpipe beads
20 x 3/4 x 3/4 in. (50.8 x 1.9 x 1.9 cm)
77:2012

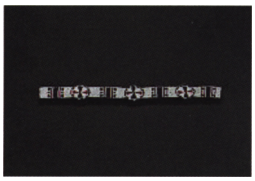
Lakota (Sioux)
Hair Brush, c.1880
porcupine tail, glass seed beads, and wood
10 1/2 × 2 3/4 in. (26.7 × 7 cm)
83:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Hair Ornament, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, brass beads, porcupine quills, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and mirror
24 x 1 1/4 x 3/4 in.
(61 x 3.2 x 1.9 cm)
78:2012

BEADED STRIPS

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Blanket Strip, c.1910
tanned hide, cotton cloth, silk, glass seed beads, and glass beads
4 in. × 52 1/2 in. (10.2 × 133.4 cm)
95:2010

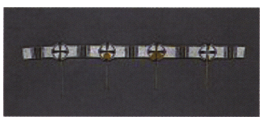
Lakota (Sioux), or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Pair of Beaded Strips, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and sinew
a: 2 1/8 × 14 1/4 in. (5.4 × 36.2 cm)
b: 2 1/2 × 13 3/4 in. (6.4 × 34.9 cm)
74:2012a,b



Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Blanket Strip, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and sinew
2 1/2 × 25 in. (6.4 × 63.5 cm)
89:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Blanket with Blanket Strip, c.1910
wool cloth, tanned hide, glass seed beads, and metallic beads
43 x 48 in. (109.2 x 121.9 cm)
79:2012

probably Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Blanket Strip, c.1885
tanned hide and glass seed beads
4 1/2 × 64 1/2 in. (11.4 × 163.8 cm)
81:2012



Lakota (Sioux)
Blanket Strip, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, silk, and metal bells
4 1/2 × 59 in. (11.4 × 149.9 cm)
42:2012

MOCCASINS

Plains
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 3/4 × 2 1/4 × 6 in.
(9.5 × 5.7 × 15.2 cm)
47:2013a,b

Cree
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and canvas
each: 5 1/2 × 4 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(14 × 11.4 × 26.7 cm)
181:2011a,b

Plains
Child's Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 6 1/2 x 2 7/8 x 4 in.
(16.5 x 7.3 x 10.2 cm)
67:2015a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1890
leather, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 × 4 × 10 1/2 in.
(7.6 × 10.2 × 26.7 cm)
85:2010a,b

Cree
Woman's Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide and glass seed beads
each: 7 × 4 1/2 × 10 1/4 in.
(17.8 × 11.4 × 26 cm)
104:2015a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and brass beads
each: 5 × 4 1/2 × 11 in.
(12.7 × 11.4 × 27.9 cm)
171:2011a,b

Clothing and Moccasins *continued*

MOCCASINS

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
left: 2 3/4 × 2 3/4 × 6 3/4 in.
(7 × 7 × 17.1 cm)
right: 3 in. × 2 3/4 in. × 6 3/4 in.
(7.6 × 7 × 17.1 cm)
46:2013a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 4 1/2 × 3 1/4 × 8 1/2 in.
(11.4 × 8.3 × 21.6 cm)
55:2013a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1885
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and sinew
each: 4 × 3 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(10.2 × 8.9 × 26.7 cm)
73:2015a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, porcupine quills, wool cloth, and pigment
each: 3 1/2 × 3 3/4 × 10 1/2 in.
(8.9 × 9.5 × 26.7 cm)
49:2013a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
right: 4 1/4 × 3 3/4 × 10 1/2 in.
(10.8 × 9.5 × 26.7 cm)
left: 4 1/4 × 3 5/8 × 10 1/2 in.
(10.8 × 9.2 × 26.7 cm)
52:2012a,b

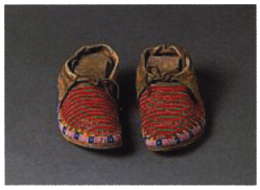
Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Child's Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, sinew, and pigment
each: 2 × 3 × 7 1/2 in.
(5.1 × 7.6 × 19.1 cm)
168:2011a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
leather, rawhide, cotton cloth, glass seed beads and porcupine quills
each: 4 × 2 1/2 × 5 1/2 in.
(10.2 × 6.4 × 14 cm)
84:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth
each: 5 × 3 1/4 × 9 in.
(12.7 × 8.3 × 22.9 cm)
52:2013a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and sinew
each: 2 3/4 × 2 1/4 × 7 3/4 in.
(7 × 5.7 × 19.7 cm)
72:2015a,b

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Child's Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and sinew
each: 2 1/2 × 2 1/2 × 7 in.
(6.4 × 6.4 × 17.8 cm)
71:2015a,b



Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills
each: 4 1/2 × 4 1/2 × 10 in.
(11.4 × 11.4 × 25.4 cm)
182:2011a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, tin cones, dyed horsehair, and cotton cloth
each: 4 1/2 × 6 × 11 1/2 in.
(11.4 × 15.2 × 29.2 cm)
62:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and sinew
each: 3 1/2 × 3 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(8.9 × 8.9 × 26.7 cm)
83:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, sinew, and cotton cloth
each: 3 × 3 7/8 × 10 1/2 in.
(7.6 × 9.8 × 26.7 cm)
101:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
each: 3 1/2 × 4 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(8.9 × 11.4 × 26.7 cm)
38:2012a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth
each: 4 × 5 × 11 in.
(10.2 × 12.7 × 27.9 cm)
80:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and sinew
each: 4 × 4 × 11 1/2 in.
(10.2 × 10.2 × 29.2 cm)
75:2015a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, sinew, and pigment
each: 4 1/4 × 4 1/2 × 9 in.
(10.8 × 11.4 × 22.9 cm)
103:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth
each: 7 × 4 1/2 × 11 in.
(17.8 × 11.4 × 27.9 cm)
170:2011a,b

Lakota (Sioux) or
Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 4 1/2 × 3 3/4 × 10 in.
(11.4 × 9.5 × 25.4 cm)
60:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and cotton cloth
each: 3 1/2 × 4 5/8 × 11 1/8 in.
(8.9 × 11.7 × 28.3 cm)
100:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 1 7/8 × 2 1/8 × 6 in.
(4.8 × 5.4 × 15.2 cm)
112:2010a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 1/2 × 4 × 10 in.
(8.9 × 10.2 × 25.4 cm)
57:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux) or
Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1890
leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 4 × 3 1/2 × 9 in.
(10.2 × 8.9 × 22.9 cm)
102:2010a,b

Clothing and Moccasins *continued*

MOCCASINS

Lakota (Sioux) or
Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and sinew
each: 4 × 4 × 10 3/4 in.
(10.2 × 10.2 × 27.3 cm)
74:2015a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 4 1/2 × 3 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(11.4 × 8.9 × 26.7 cm)
56:2013a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 1/2 × 3 3/4 × 9 1/2 in.
(8.9 × 9.5 × 24.1 cm)
58:2013a,b

Ute
Moccasins, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 4 1/4 × 4 × 14 1/4 in.
(10.8 × 10.2 × 36.2 cm)
44:2013a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or
Cheyenne River Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 × 3 1/4 × 9 in.
(7.6 × 8.3 × 22.9 cm)
53:2013a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
right: 3 × 3 1/2 × 10 in.
(7.6 × 8.9 × 25.4 cm)
left: 3 × 3 3/8 × 10 in.
(7.6 × 8.6 × 25.4 cm)
60:2012a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 5 × 4 1/4 × 10 3/4 in.
(12.7 × 10.8 × 27.3 cm)
61:2013a,b

Ute
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and sinew
each: 4 1/2 × 3 1/2 × 10 in.
(11.4 × 8.9 × 25.4 cm)
68:2015a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or
Cheyenne River Lakota (Sioux)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 2 3/4 × 3 × 9 1/2 in.
(7 × 7.6 × 24.1 cm)
54:2013a,b

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Moccasins, c.1885
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
right: 3 1/2 × 3 3/8 × 9 1/4 in.
(8.9 × 8.6 × 23.5 cm)
left: 4 × 3 1/4 × 9 1/4 in.
(10.2 × 8.3 × 23.5 cm)
61:2012a,b

Ute
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 5 × 4 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(12.7 × 11.4 × 26.7 cm)
172:2011a,b

Southern Plains or
Tsitsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Moccasins, c.1900
leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, pigment, and cotton cloth
each: 4 1/8 × 3 7/8 × 10 1/4 in.
(10.5 × 9.8 × 26 cm)
76:2010a,b

Cradles, Toys, and Other Children's Items

CRADLES

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Moccasins, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
each: 3 × 4 1/4 × 20 in.
(7.6 × 10.8 × 50.8 cm)
59:2013a,b

Southern Plains or Numinu (Comanche)
Boot Moccasins, c.1885
tanned hide, leather, nickelsilver conchos, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 16 × 4 × 8 1/2 in.
(40.6 × 10.2 × 21.6 cm)
97:2010a,b

Plateau
Toy Cradleboard, c.1890
tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, and pigment
8 1/4 x 3 7/8 x 1 3/4 in.
(21 x 9.8 x 4.4 cm)
70:2010

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Toy Cradleboard, c.1910
wood, tanned hide, glass seed beads, metal beads, rawhide, brass tacks, and pigment
12 3/4 x 2 3/4 x 2 1/2 in.
(32.4 x 7 x 6.4 cm)
91:2013

Gaigwa (Kiowa)
Moccasins, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, cotton cloth, and pigment
each: 4 1/2 × 3 1/2 × 10 1/2 in.
(11.4 × 8.9 × 26.7 cm)
81:2013a,b

Southern Plains Inde (Apache)
Boot Moccasins, c.1890
leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, nickelsilver conchos, and pigment
each: 28 × 9 1/2 × 6 in.
(71.1 × 24.1 × 15.2 cm)
111:2010a,b

Plateau
Toy Cradleboard, c.1890
tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, glass beads, and wool cloth
14 3/4 × 6 3/4 × 2 3/8 in.
(37.5 × 17.1 × 6 cm)
45:2013

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Toy Cradleboard, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wood, silk, cotton cloth, and brass tacks
24 1/4 x 5 1/2 x 5 1/2 in.
(61.6 x 14 x 14 cm)
68:2010

Numinu (Comanche)
Moccasins, c.1885
leather, rawhide, glass seed beads, and pigment
each: 3 × 4 × 10 in.
(7.6 × 10.2 × 25.4 cm)
96:2010a,b

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Model Cradleboard, 20th century
tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, and wool cloth
23 × 6 × 5 in.
(58.4 × 15.2 × 12.7 cm)
109:2015

probably Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Cradleboard, c.1890
tanned hide, wood, glass seed beads, cotton cloth, silk, metal tacks, and brass hawk bells
45 x 11 x 12 in.
(114.3 x 27.9 x 30.5 cm)
80:2012

Cradles, Toys, and Other Children's Items *continued*

CRADLES

Lakota (Sioux)
Cradle, c.1890
wool cloth, cotton cloth, glass seed beads, leather, and metal bells
28 x 13 x 10 in.
(71.1 x 33 x 25.4 cm)
65:2010

Lakota (Sioux)
Cradle, c.1890
tanned hide, wool cloth, cotton cloth, glass seed beads, and sinew
23 1/4 x 9 x 9 in.
(59.1 x 22.9 x 22.9 cm)
66:2010

Ute
Toy Cradleboard, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, glass beads, wood, cotton cloth, and pigment
8 3/4 x 4 1/8 x 2 1/4 in.
(22.2 x 10.5 x 5.7 cm)
69:2010

DOLLS

Plains
Male Doll, c.1890
cotton cloth, wool cloth, glass seed beads, yarn, tanned hide, and tin band
10 1/4 × 4 5/8 × 1 1/2 in.
(26 × 11.7 × 3.8 cm)
102:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Female Doll (one of a pair), c.1890
hide, cloth, glass seed beads, and horsehair
13 1/4 x 6 7/8 x 2 3/4 in.
(33.7 x 17.5 x 7 cm)
73:2010.1

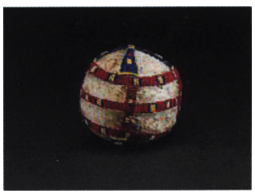
Lakota (Sioux)
Male Doll (one of a pair), c.1890
hide, cloth, glass seed beads, and horsehair
14 1/4 x 8 1/4 x 1 3/4 in.
(36.2 x 21 x 4.4 cm)
73:2010.2

Lakota (Sioux)
Male Doll, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, horsehair, and wood bow
14 × 5 1/4 × 1 3/4 in.
(35.6 × 13.3 × 4.4 cm)
53:2012

Anishinaabe (Ojibwe or Chippewa)
Male Doll, c.1890
tanned hide, cotton cloth, glass seed beads, and wood
7 1/2 x 4 1/2 in. (19.1 x 11.4 cm)
70:2015

OTHER CHILDREN'S ITEMS

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Model Tipi, c.1900
tanned hide, pigment, and willow sticks
36 × 18 1/2 in. (91.4 × 47 cm)
106:2015

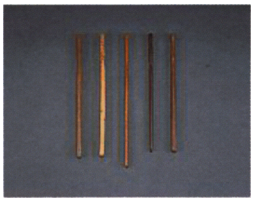


Lakota (Sioux), or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne), or Hinono'ei (Arapaho)
Ball, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
diameter: 4 in. (10.2 cm)
63:2012

Instruments, Horse Regalia, and Military Gear

INSTRUMENTS

Plains
Drumstick, c.1900
wood, tanned hide, glass seed beads, and porcupine quills
7/8 × 14 in. (2.2 × 35.6 cm)
103:2015



Southern Plains
Five Drumsticks, c.1920
wood
between 12 in. and 13 1/2 in.
66:2012.1–.5

Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Hand Drum, c.1890
rawhide, wood, brass tacks, pigment, and steel wire
4 × 19 1/4 in. (10.2 × 48.9 cm)
177:2011

Oki' cizeta'wa (His Battle) or Jaw (Cehu'pa),
Hunkpapa Lakota (Sioux)
Hand Drum, c.1910
rawhide, wood, nails, and cotton cloth, leather, metal wire, and pigment
diameter: 19 in. (48.3 cm)
40:2012

HORSE REGALIA

Plateau
Saddle Bag, c.1890
tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, cotton cloth, glass pony beads, and metal sequins
64 x 12 in. (162.6 x 30.5 cm)
71:2010

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Saddle Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth
7 x 11 x 1 in.
(17.8 x 27.9 x 2.5 cm)
165:2011

Plateau
Saddle Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth
81 × 9 1/2 in. (205.7 × 24.1 cm)
83:2013

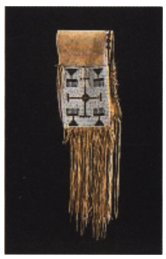
Apsáalooke (Crow)
Miniature Saddle Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and pigment
6 x 5 1/4 in. (15.2 x 13.3 cm)
65:2012

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Saddle Bag, c.1900
tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, silk, and brass bells
116 × 28 in. (294.6 × 71.1 cm)
72:2010

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Martingale, c.1900
tanned hide, wool and cotton cloth, glass seed beads, and brass bells
37 × 16 in. (94 × 40.6 cm)
80:2010

HORSE REGALIA

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Headstall Ornament, c.1890
rawhide, glass seed beads, metal, and horsehair
12 3/4 x 7 in. (32.4 x 17.8 cm)
74:2010



Lakota (Sioux)
Saddle Bag, c.1880
tanned hide and glass seed beads
90 x 13 in. (228.6 x 33 cm)
167:2011

Southern Plains Inde (Apache)
Quirt, c.1890
wood, cotton cloth, glass seed beads, and leather
20 x 1 in. (50.8 x 2.5 cm)
90:2010

probably Lakota (Sioux)
Saddle Blanket, c.1885
tanned hide, canvas, glass seed beads, and wool cloth
79 × 14 in. (200.7 × 35.6 cm)
69:2012

Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Horse Medicine Bag, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
5 1/2 × 3 3/4 × 86 in.
(14 × 9.5 × 218.4 cm)
42:2013

Plains
Quirt, c.1875
ash wood, rawhide, tanned hide, and glass seed beads
41 × 2 in. (104.1 × 5.1 cm)
130:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
Saddle Blanket, c.1890
canvas, tanned hide, glass seed beads, and brass bells
25 x 66 in. (63.5 x 165.1 cm)
169:2011

Lakota (Sioux) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Quirt, c.1880
elk horn, rawhide, tanned hide, brass nails, brass tacks, glass seed beads, and sinew
32 x 1 1/8 x 1 1/8 in.
(81.3 x 2.9 x 2.9 cm)
68:2012

Plains
Tipi Door, c.1890
muslin cloth, pigment, and willow sticks
43 × 22 1/2 in.
(109.2 × 57.2 cm)
90:2013

KNIFE CASES

Plains
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and knife
case: 10 in. × 3/8 in. × 1 in.
(25.4 × 1 × 2.5 cm)
knife: 10 1/8 × 1 × 3/4 in.
(25.7 × 2.5 × 1.9 cm)
176:2011a,b

Plains
Knife Case, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and tin cones
1 3/4 × 9 in. (4.4 × 22.9 cm)
64:2013

Northern Plains
Knife Case and Knife, c.1870
leather, brass, brass nails, brass rivets, and knife
case: 3 1/8 × 11 1/4 in.
(7.9 × 28.6 cm)
knife: 1 × 11 1/2 in.
(2.5 × 29.2 cm)
90:2015a,b

Cree
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and knife
case: 12 1/2 in. × 5 in. (31.8 × 12.7 cm)
knife: 11 1/4 × 1 3/4 × 3/4 in. (28.6 × 4.4 × 1.9 cm)
56:2012a,b

probably Pikuni (Blackfeet)
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and knife
case length: 10 3/4 in. (27.3 cm)
knife: 1 1/2 × 3/4 × 12 1/2 in. (3.8 × 1.9 × 31.8 cm)
55:2012a,b

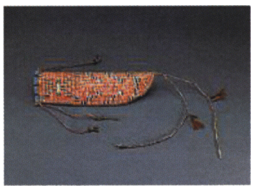
Lakota (Sioux), or Hinono'ei (Arapaho), or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Knife Case, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and sinew
9 x 3 3/8 x 1/8 in. (22.9 x 8.6 x 0.3 cm)
72:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
8 1/2 × 2 1/2 in. (21.6 × 6.4 cm)
75:2013a,b

Pikuni (Blackfeet) or Cree
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, and knife
case: 2 1/2 × 9 in. (6.4 × 22.9 cm)
knife: 9 × 3/4 × 3/8 in. (22.9 × 1.9 × 1 cm)
43:2012a,b

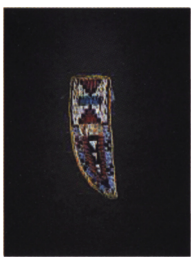
Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Knife Case, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, glass beads, and tin cones
2 x 5/8 x 10 3/4 in. (5.1 x 1.6 x 27.3 cm)
74:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Knife Case and Knife, c.1900
tanned hide, leather, glass seed beads, and knife
case: 9 1/2 × 2 1/4 × 3/4 in. (24.1 × 5.7 × 1.9 cm)
knife: 10 × 1 1/8 × 3/4 in. (25.4 × 2.9 × 1.9 cm)
58:2012a,b



Lakota (Sioux)
Knife Case, c.1880
tanned hide, rawhide, porcupine quills, glass seed beads, tin cones, metal beads, and dyed horsehair
21 1/2 × 2 7/8 in. (54.6 × 7.3 cm)
44:2012

Pikuni (Blackfeet) or possibly Cree
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
leather, glass seed beads, felt, and knife
case: 8 1/4 × 3 1/4 × 1 in. (21 × 8.3 × 2.5 cm)
knife: 10 1/4 × 1 × 5/8 in. (26 × 2.5 × 1.6 cm)
57:2012a,b



Lakota (Sioux), or Hinono'ei (Arapaho) or Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne)
Knife Case, c.1900
tanned hide, rawhide, and glass seed beads
8 × 2 in. (20.3 × 5.1 cm)
63:2013

Lakota (Sioux)
Knife Case and Knife, c.1890
tanned hide, rawhide, glass seed beads, tin cones, and knife
17 1/4 × 2 1/8 in. (43.8 × 5.4 cm)
67:2013a,b

Lakota (Sioux)
Knife Case, c.1890
tanned hide and glass seed beads
26 × 4 3/4 in. (66 × 12.1 cm)
96:2015

Instruments, Horse Regalia, and Military Gear *continued*

BOW AND GUN CASES

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Gun Case, c.1890
tanned hide, glass seed beads, and wool cloth
56 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. (143.5 x 16.5 cm)
173:2011

Lakota (Sioux)
Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Two Arrows, c.1875
tanned hide, wool cloth, glass seed beads, tin cones, dyed horsehair, wood, string, feathers, metal, and pigment
length: 38 in. (96.5 cm)
91:2015a–d

Apsáalooke (Crow)
Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Three Arrows, c.1870
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wood, feathers, metal, and pigment
length: 44 in. (111.8 cm)
179:2011a–e

Numinu (Comanche)
Bow Case and Quiver, c.1870
tanned hide with animal hair, glass seed beads, canvas, cloth, and sinew
34 x 44 in. (86.4 x 111.8)
125:2015

Tsistsistas/Suhtai (Cheyenne) or Lakota (Sioux)
Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Three Arrows, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wood, metal, and feathers
length: 39 in. (99.1 cm)
108:2015a–e

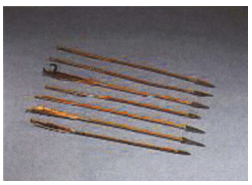
Southern Plains Inde (Apache)
Bow Case and Quiver with Bow and Six Arrows, c.1880
tanned hide, glass seed beads, wool cloth, pigment, wood, string, metal, and feathers
33 x 44 in. (83.8 x 111.8 cm)
186:2011a–h

WEAPONS AND TOOLS

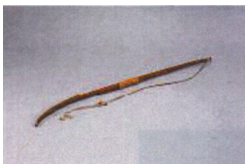
Plains
Bow, c.1880
wood and sinew
length: 46 1/2 in. (118.1 cm)
119:2015

Plains
Bow, c.1880
wood, tanned hide, sinew, and pigment
length: 47 in. (119.4 cm)
123:2015

Plains
Bow, c.1870
wood, tanned hide, and sinew
length: 40 in. (101.6 cm)
120:2015



Plains
Seven Arrows, c.1875
wood, steel, feathers, sinew, and traces of paint
length of the longest: 26 in. (66 cm)
124:2015.1–.7



Plains
Bow, c.1880
wood, tanned hide, and sinew
length: 44 in. (111.8 cm)
122:2015

Plains
War Club, c.1900
stone, wood, glass seed beads, glass beads, tanned hide, and horsehair
length: 18 1/2 in. (47 cm)
110:2015

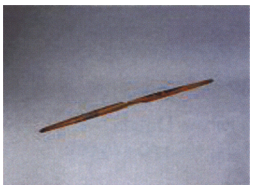
Plains
War Club, c.1870
stone, wood, rawhide,
porcupine quills, and horsehair
7 1/4 × 2 3/8 × 34 in.
(18.4 × 6 × 86.4 cm)
116:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
War Club, c.1875
stone, wood, and rawhide
6 5/8 × 2 3/8 × 25 in.
(16.8 × 6 × 63.5 cm)
89:2015

Northern California
Bow, c.1880
wood, tanned hide, and sinew
length: 34 1/2 in. (87.6 cm)
121:2015

Plains
Hide Scraper, c.1870
elk antler, iron blade, canvas,
and tanned hide
12 3/4 × 4 in. (32.4 × 10.2 cm)
84:2015

Lakota (Sioux)
War Club, c.1880
stone, wood, tanned hide,
porcupine quills, glass seed beads,
horsehair, and silk
3 5/8 × 2 1/2 × 49 in.
(9.2 × 6.4 × 124.5 cm)
117:2015



Northern California
Bow, c.1880
wood
length: 55 in. (139.7 cm)
118:2015

Northern Plains
Tomahawk, c.1875
ash wood, pewter, brass tacks,
tanned hide, and glass seed beads
9 1/4 × 34 in. (23.5 × 86.4 cm)
75:2012

Lakota (Sioux)
War Club, c.1880
stone, wood, rawhide, glass seed
beads, feathers, dyed horsehair,
cloth, and metal bell
4 3/4 × 2 3/4 × 56 1/2 in.
(12.1 × 7 × 143.5 cm)
127:2015

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